LETTERS

OF

MARY STUART,

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

LONDON:
RICHARDS, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.



Lizars sc.

LETTERS

OF

MARY STUART,

Queen of Scotland,

SELECTED FROM THE

"RECUEIL DES LETTRES DE MARIE STUART,"

TOGETHER WITH THE CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF EVENTS
DURING THE REIGN OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTLAND,

BY PRINCE ALEXANDER LABANOFF.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

WILLIAM TURNBULL, ESQ.

ADVOCATE, F.S.A. SCOT.



LONDON:
CHARLES DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET.

M.DCCC.XLV.

CONTENTS.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

Having been requested to translate the correspondence comprised in the following pages, and which has been extracted from Prince Labanoff's "Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart," I feel thankful that the selection from that most valuable addition to our historical literature was not left to myself, as otherwise I should have experienced in an eminent degree what has been correctly denominated *l'embarras des richesses*. For a careful perusal of the seven volumes entitles me to assert, that in point of unbroken interest and literary importance, the work is not equalled, nor indeed approached, by any contribution hitherto made to our knowledge of the past. But it is not my province here to play the critic.

Neither in this place am I entitled, however tempting the opportunity, to sketch a new biography of the royal martyr, or to enter upon a fresh discussion of those points in the history of her time, which have so often, and so long, provoked the war of controversy. I shall therefore content myself with throwing together a few specimens of the merit of the "Recueil," as exhibiting the character and the sufferings of Mary, extracted cursorily during perusal, with a few relative illustrations; leaving the letters translated in this volume to speak for themselves.

And here, with respect to these translations,* I may observe, that while I have rendered them freely,

* It will be seen that the letter at p. 275 is an exception to the others, being an original decipher in the language of the period.

I have also endeavoured to render them faithfully, without however seeking to preserve that unnatural quaintness which the idiom of the originals, altogether inconsonant with the genius of our vernacular, presents—in my opinion awkwardly and absurdly—in the volumes lately *edited* by Miss Strickland. Several of the letters are of very difficult comprehension, either from imperfection in the decipher, or from ellipses arising out of the haste or agitation in which they appear to have been penned; so that in many instances it is hardly possible to ascertain the precise meaning. This may serve to explain what might otherwise be imputed as a fault of the translator.

After this, perhaps, it may seem invidious in one not only fallible, but failing, to animadvert on the performance of others; but I cannot avoid remarking, that in the aforesaid translations, edited by Miss Strickland (and which I only perused after reading the "Recueil"), the sense has been frequently so grievously perverted, as to manifest an utter ignorance not only of the old French, but of the more intimate details in the life of Queen Mary. This, of course, is not chargeable to Miss Strickland.

For the extremely graphic frontispiece to this volume, I am indebted to the untiring kindness of my friends, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and David Laing, Esqs. The original draught is at Abbotsford; but a copy, in excellence not a whit inferior—from which this engraving was reduced—was some years ago presented by its designer to Mr. Laing; who, with Mr. Sharpe's approbation, liberally permitted me to have it engraved. As there has always been an error as to the date of the scene,—some calling it "Queen Elizabeth dancing before the Spanish Ambassador;" others, the same "before Sir James Melville, high and disposedly,"—I may state that the real incident delineated by Mr. Sharpe is that of her majesty exhibiting before Sir Roger Aston, groom of

the chamber to King James I, who was employed as letter-carrier between his master and that virago. Weldon thus narrates it: "I must not pass over one pretty passage, I have heard himself relate; that he did never come to deliver any letters from his master, but ever he was placed in the lobby, the hangings being turned him, where he might see the queen dancing to a little fiddle; which was to no other end, than that he should tell his master, by her youthful disposition, how likely he was to come to the possession of the crown he so much thirsted after; for you must understand, the wisest in that kingdom did believe the king should never enjoy this crown as long as there was an old wife in England, which they did believe was ever set up, as the other was dead." (*Weldon's Court of King James*, p. 5, ed. 1651; or *Secret History of the Court of James I*, Edin. 1811, i. 317.) How highly characteristic of Elizabeth is both the anecdote and the design!

At page 381 of the present volume, Mary alludes to her having had the small pox. To this Adrian Turnebus refers in his "Epithalamium Francisci, Franciæ Delphini, et Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ," and intimates that her beauty was nowise marred by the disease:

"Non tulit invidiam Cypriæ tamen æmula Juno
Non Pallas," &c.—*Deliciæ Poetarum Gallorum*, p. 1033.

Of her early years how pleasing is the account! Thus, in her tenth, when writing to her mother, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, the Cardinal of Lorraine depicts his royal niece: "The said lady, your daughter, has so grown and increases daily in dignity, goodness, beauty, wisdom and virtue, that she is the most perfect and accomplished in all things honourable and virtuous as is possible, and there is nothing such to be seen at present in this kingdom, whether in a noble or other child, of whatsoever humble or middling condition and quality she may be: and I must tell you, madam, that the King takes such

b 2

pleasure in her, that he spends his time well in chatting with her for the space of an hour, and she is as able to amuse him with pleasant and rational conversation as a woman of five-and-twenty." (*Recueil*, i. 8.) The following year his Eminence, again discoursing of her to her parent, writes: "Believe me, madam, it would do you good to see the Queen your daughter, who is as well and in as good health as she ever was. And I am surprised at those who have written to you that she was sickly. It may be well said that they are wicked people and of a bad disposition; for I assure you that she never was so well, and even the physicians affirm that she is of a constitution to live as long, with God's aid, as any of her relations. It is very true that she has sometimes some faintishness, which does not arise otherwise than when sometimes she forgets herself and eats a little too much, because she has always so good an appetite that, if she followed her inclination, and were allowed to eat as she could, her stomach would very often suffer from it." (*Recueil,* i. 21.) Again, two years thereafter, informing the Queen Dowager of the protracted indisposition of Madame de Parrois,* Mary's governess, "I am much displeased to see the Queen your daughter, at her age, without anybody about her, although she is so prudent and virtuous that it is impossible that she could conduct herself more wisely or more honourably if she had a dozen governesses." (*Recueil*, i. 34.) He adds, "I give you every assurance, madam, that there is nothing more beautiful or modest than the Queen your daughter, and also very devout. She rules the King and the Queen." (*Ibid.* 36.)

Upon this scene of youthful and happy promise how soon the cloud settles, ever darkening deeper as it extends! Our next extracts find her in her own

* This Madame de Parrois seems to have been a thorn in the side of her Majesty.—See *Recueil*, i. pp. 15, 30, 34, 35, 41, and 43.

kingdom, the prisoner of her own barbarians. And yet the following letter, written to Melvil from her insular captivity in the castle of Lochleven, in 1567, requiring his attention to the necessities of her wardrobe, is an agreeable contrast to the too painful bulk of her correspondence:

"Robert Melwyne, ze sall nocht faill to send with this berar to me half elle of incarnatt satin and half elle of blew satin. Als caus Servais, my conseirge, send me mair twynd silk, gif there rests ony; and sewing gold and sewing silvir; als ane doublat and skirtis of quhyt satin, ane uthir incarnat, ane uthir of blak satin, and the skirtis with thame. Send na skirt with the ryd doublat; als ane lowse gowne of taffateis: als ze sall send the gowne and the uthyr clais that i bad the lady Lidintoun gar send me; and als ye sall nocht faill to send my madynis clais, for thai ar nakit, and marvells ze have nocht send thame sin your departing fra me, togithyr with the camaraige and lynyne clayth quhairof i gaif you ane memoriall, and gif the schone be nocht reddy maid caus send thame with sum uther eftir. Als ze sall caus Servais send tua pair schettis, with tua unce of small blak sewing silk; als ye sall caus him send me all the dry dames plowmis that he hes, togither with the peris he hes. This ze will nocht faill to do, as doubt nocht bot ze will, atour ze sall caus mak ane dozen of rasene nedillis and mowlis and send me; and speir at Servais gif he hes ony uthir covering of beddis to me nor grein, and send me to put under the tother covering. I mervell ze forgat to send me silvir conforme to promis. Committand zow to God.

"At Lochlewyne, the iij of September.

(*Recueil*, ii. 61.) "MARIE R."

How she was annoyed by her confinement at Lochleven, may be inferred from what she says to Catherine de Médicis: "I am so closely watched, that I have no leisure but during their dinner, or when they sleep, that I get up: for their daughters

sleep with me." (*Recueil,* ii. 69.) A short while previously, she writes to the Archbishop of Glasgow: "I have neither paper nor time to write further, except to beg the king, the queen, and my uncles, to burn my letters; for, if they know that I have written, it will cost the lives of many, and put mine in danger, and cause me to be confined more closely." (*Ibid.* ii. 65.)

With reference to Queen Mary's unhappy marriage with Bothwell, and the charges against that bold, bad man, an interesting document is preserved in one of the volumes of the valuable MS. collections of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne, preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh; wherein is inserted one of the original proclamations for the apprehension of Bothwell, with which the walls of that city were once placarded. As it has never been reprinted, we give it a place here:

"Heir followis ane proclamation that the Lordis of Secreit Counsall maid the xxvi. day of Junii, 1567.

"Forasmeikle as the Lordis of Secreit Counsall, and others of the Nobilitie, Baronis, and faithfull subiectis of this Realme, persaving the miserabill estate of the common weill, how the King, the Quenis Maiesteis lait husband, was horriblie and shamefullie murtherit, na tryall takin thairof, nor punishement execute on the authoris, howbeit thay war knawin weill aneuch in the sycht of men, hir hienes awin persoun tressonablie cauissit, and thairefter ioynit with the Erle Bothwell, principall authoure of the said cruell murthour, in mariage, althocht maist vngodly baith aganis the law of God and man, continewing still in thraldome and bondage vnder the yok of that pretendit and vnlefull mariage. Thairfoir thay haue takin on armis to puneis the authour of the said cruell murthour and reuistar, to preserue the persoun of the innocent infant, natiue Prince of this Realme, fra the bludy crueltie of him that slew his father, and to restoir and establishe justice

abusit in this corrupt tyme to all the leigis of this Realme. And being on the feildis reddy to gif battell to the said Erle and his pertakers efter that he had cowartlie refusit singulair combat baith of ane Barron and gentilman vndefamit, and of a Lord and Barron of Parliament, to quhilkis baith he had befoir offerit himself be his Cartell and proclamatioun, the place being maist meit and conuenient betwix the twa companyis, at last he fled and eschaipit, takand the ignominie on him dew vnto the vincust be the Law of Armis, and nottheles now thinkis to perswade and entyse simple and ignorant men to assist him in his defence vnpuneist for the murthoure, crueltie, and vthers wickit ennormiteis comittit be him, quhilkis with his awin persoun he durst not awow and defend, of the quhilk murther now be just tryall taine he is fund not only to haue bene the inuentour and deuysar, but the executour with his awin handis, as his awin seruandis being in company with him at that vnworthy deid hes testifeit. Thairfoir, the Lordis of Secreit Counsall ordanis ane Herauld or vther officiar of armis, to pas to the mercat croce of the Burgh of Edinburgh, and all vthers placis neidfull within this Realme, and thair be oppin proclamatioun to mak publicatioun heirof, to all our Soueranis leigis, that nane pretend ignorance of the samin, and to command and charge all the said leigis of quhat estate or degre that euer thay be of, that nane of thame tak upone hand to resset or supplie the said Erle in thair housis or vtherwayis, to support him with men, armour, hors, shippis, boittis, or vther furnessing quhatsumeuer be sey or land, vnder the paine to be repuite, haldin and estemit as plaine pertakaris with him in the said horribill murther, rauissing, and vthers wickit crymes and ennormeiteis committit be him, and to be persewit thairfoir as common innimeis of this commoun weill. Attoure quha saeuer will tak the said Erle and bring him to the Burgh of Edinburgh to be

puneist be justice for his demeritis, sall haue for thair rewaird ane thousand crownis of the Sone.

"Imprentit at Edinburgh be Robert Lekpreik. Anno Do. 1567."

Her destitution while at Carlisle, is thus forcibly depicted in a letter to Catherine de Médicis: "Madam, I beseech you to have regard to my necessity. The King owes me some money, and I have not a penny. I am not ashamed to make my plaint to you, as to her who has brought me up; for I have not only not wherewithal to purchase a shift, but am reduced to a plight which the bearer will tell to you." (*Recueil*, ii. 129.)

Among the many pathetic, powerful, indignant, and high-minded letters which Mary addressed to Elizabeth, the ensuing passage, written during her sojourn there, is not the least striking:

"My good sister, be better advised; gain the heart, and there will be nothing but what is yours and at your command. I think that I should satisfy you in all, were I to see you. Alas! be not as the serpent, which closes the ear: for I am not an enchanter, but your sister and natural cousin. If Cæsar had not disdained to listen to or read the warning of a monitor, he would not have fallen. Wherefore ought the ears of princes to be closed, since they paint them so long? signifying that they should hear all, and think well before they reply. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the camelion, to change you to my appearance, even were I as dangerous and wicked as they say; and you are sufficiently armed with firmness and justice, which I beg from God, and that He may give you grace to make good use of it, with a long and happy life."—*Recueil*, ii. 134.

Wherever she was confined, her Majesty's motions were so closely watched, and her correspondence so strictly scrutinized, that her letters bear frequent indications of her anxiety to discover a certain and indefectible means of communication. Besides the

directions given to the Archbishop of Glasgow (p. 268) and M. de Châteauneuf (pp. 329-30) in this volume, numerous instructions similar to the following, addressed to Mauvissière, occur in Prince Labanoff's collection. But what could such avail against the treachery of her most cherished confidants, and the vigilance of men like Walsingham, into whose hands her letters almost invariably fell!

"By the carriers I find it in nowise safe to write, unless all other means fail: in which event, the best and most secret writing is with alum dissolved in a very little clear water four-and-twenty hours before you wish to write; and, to read it, it is necessary only to dip the paper into a basin of clear water; the secret writing appears white, very easily read until the paper becomes dry again; you can in this way write on white taffeta, or white cloth, especially lawn: and, that it may be known between us when there is any thing written, it would be necessary to cut from the piece of taffeta or lawn a small piece out of one of the corners. As for the papers which are commonly memorials, write the letter M, of this word memoir, with the tail reversed, in this manner: ww. I shall employ the same, if necessity requires it; but we must not use it except on occasion of great importance; and, besides, take care to name nobody whosoever, so as not to be endangered by it."—*Recueil*, v. 402.

In her letter to La Mothe Fénélon, of 30th November 1573 (*Recueil*, iv. 89), the Queen urgently claims the jewels which she had left at Edinburgh; charges Morton with having put to death those who had the care of and were responsible to her for them, in order that he might appropriate them to himself; and asserts that Murray always maintained them to belong to her. In the very curious volume of Inventories and Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewel-house, privately printed by Mr. Thomas Thomson in 1815 [Edin. 4to, p. 359], are "Records tueching the

recovering and collecting of the Jowellis, Houshald Stuff, Munitionis, and Movable Guidis qhatsumevir, sumtyme pertening to the Quene our Soverane Lordis moder, and now pertening to his Majestie, sen his Hienes Coronatioun, 1572-1573." In the same collection occurs the catalogue of her library in Edinburgh Castle...no mean one for the time, nor heedlessly selected. Among chronicles, romances, poetry, and patristic theology, we light upon "Ane buk of devilry" and "The sects and hereseis in this tyme," fit companions to each other on the royal shelves. The identical "Cronicles of Savoy," in all their ancient elegance of bibliopegic skill, impressed with Mary's arms, eventually passed into Mr. Thomson's hands, and were sold for £13 13*s*. at the dispersion of his library, in July 1841.

Among Queen Mary's many god-children, was Mary Catherine de Castelnau, daughter of M. de Mauvissière, who was born in England during the period of her father's embassy, and had for god-mothers Catherine of Médicis and the Queen of Scots. She subsequently, in 1595, became the wife of Louis de Rochechouart, Seigneur de La Brosse de Jars, and died at Montigni, 2nd July, 1612. To this child she writes from Sheffield, 26th January, 1584, in her usual affectionate and tender style:

"My dear god-daughter, I have been much pleased to see by your letter, the evidence of the accomplishments* with which I have heard that God has endowed you so early in life. Learn, darling, to know and serve Him who has given you so many graces, and He will increase them; for which I beseech Him, and that He may give you His holy blessing. I send you a small gift from a prisoner, to keep you in remembrance of your god-mother. It is a mere trifle; but I send it to you as a testimony of the friendship

* According to Moreri, she was mistress of four languages, and translated her father's memoirs into English.

which I bear to you and yours, it having been given to me by the late King, my much-honoured and good father-in-law, while very young, and preserved by me until this time. Remember me to my gossip your mother, and continue to love me as a second mother, as I desire to be to you.

"Your very affectionate god-mother,

"Marie.

"*Addressed:* To my god-daughter, Marie de Castelnau." (*Recueil*, v. 406.)

In February 1584, England was visited by an earthquake. The shock was felt at Sheffield. In a letter to M. de Mauvissière, of 2nd March, Mary thus mentions it: "We have had here, even in my chamber, a great earthquake, on the evening of Saturday the 16th ult.; insomuch that my women could not sit steady on their boxes and chairs, where they were working round me. I have heard that it was at the same hour and day in several other places of this country. God by His mercy deliver us from all evils! but I ought not to fear that He will let worse befall me than He has already done. God preserve us all!" (*Recueil*, v. 431.)

The Satanic malice of her enemies assailed her in the tenderest point, that of religion; and they sedulously strove to prejudice her in the opinion of the other Catholic sovereigns, by asserting that she was indifferent to that faith, for which she eventually, by her martyrdom, demonstrated her sincerity. In a beautiful letter, written from Bolton, 30th November, 1568, to Philip II, condolatory on the death of his queen, she expresses her pain at learning that, operated upon by the poison of the malignants, he had entertained some suspicion of her religious fealty. She thus protests to him: "If I do not exercise my religion, they ought not to believe for that that I waver between the two. Besides, since my arrival in this kingdom, I have demanded that they permit me at least the power of exercising it, as they grant

it to the ambassador of a foreign prince; but they replied to me that I was a relation of the Queen, and that I should never obtain it. They afterwards introduced to my house an English minister, who simply recited some prayers in the vulgar tongue; which I was unable to prevent, because I was and still am deprived of liberty, and closely surrounded with guards. But if it is thought that I erred in participating at these prayers, at which I assisted because no other exercise of my religion was allowed me, I am ready to make such satisfaction as may be deemed necessary, so that all the Catholic princes of the world may be convinced that I am an obedient, submissive, and devoted daughter of the holy Roman Catholic Church, in the faith of which I wish to live and die, without having ever had any other desire than that, a desire which with God's assistance I shall never alter in any manner."—*Recueil,* ii. 240.

Again, at a subsequent period, writing to La Mothe Fénélon, she enters upon this vindication:

"Thirdly, wherein I am roundly taxed with having demanded the exercise of my religion as if in derision and mockery: it is necessary that I should answer more plainly than perhaps I should do in another matter; and therefore I shall repeat the reasons which are advanced in the third note to support this charge. The first is that I know well that that would not be conceded to me: to which I reply quite the contrary, being able, after God, to give evidence of what is in my heart, and that therein I judge better than all others, who only see the outside; and as to exterior demonstrations, if I have not made sufficient to indicate the zeal and affection which I have for the religion of which I demand the exercise (I dislike to speak on this head), what instigated those who, in the name of the clergy of this kingdom, in the last parliament, exhibited articles and resolutions tending to deprive me of life? The strongest reason which they put foremost in their impious libel was, because,

said they, I am a papist, and their brethren in Scotland, that is to say some predicants and renegade priests, by whom my kingdom is poisoned, and who have kindled the fire of the rebellious, condemn me also. Whereupon I have written to you so fully that it is unnecessary for me to recapitulate it, and, without boasting, it can be seen by the discourse which I made to you in that extremity, that neither fear nor any other affection would have prevented me from confessing more stedfastly than ever the religion for which sentence of death was notified to me. I have demanded the exercise of it seriously, and not in jest, for I do not play at such a game. I hold religion in the reverence which is meet for a Christian and afflicted lady, who has no recourse except to God. And wherein it is added that I do so to magnify myself to the papists: God is witness to it, and the express words by which I have demanded the said exercise, which are after many great and just considerations, which I do not doubt to have been well and exactly related, according to the instructions therefor, which I had left to the said Du Verger, my chancellor, that I might be permitted to have the mass in a private place for myself and my servants, without any offence, in the same manner as the ambassadors of foreign princes. In which it could only be perversely misconstrued that there was ostentation or brag. And wherein it is said that it is lawful for me to have the exercise of a better religion: the subject does not require disputation, nor am I in a condition to undertake it, and it is sufficient for me to remain stedfast, as I have always in that which is held and taught in the Church which I admit to be alone approved of God, which is the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman. And to conclude, wherein it is said that before the rebellion of the north I was very well content with another religion than that: I reply that I was not, and that they can adduce no evidence of it worthy of belief. It is true that I heard the sermons

of some ministers, and the form of common prayers established in this kingdom, in which I do not at all desire to excuse myself of having done amiss, inasmuch as, under colour of that, reports were spread by my adversaries, by which my friends and many foreign Catholics were somewhat distressed. And, to declare more fully the truth of my intention and of the act, having come into this kingdom to demand assistance and support from the said lady, my good sister, according to her promised friendship, I sought it from her by all means, in the hope either of soon obtaining it, or that she would permit me to retire into Scotland or to France; and in the meanwhile some of the nobility of my kingdom, who accompanied me into this, being sent by me to my said good sister, to attend to my affairs with her, alleged among other opinions that, to do what might please her and expedite my said affairs, it was necessary that I should show that I did not bear for private injuries such hate or rancour to the Protestants, with whom I ought to be reconciled, that they should despair of ever having peace with me, and that, for this consideration alone, I had in abhorrence what was good in the doctrine which they held; by which, more than I thought, they were admonished of their duty as well towards God as their prince; and thereupon the more politic, representing to me that I might listen to the barking of a dog, and that, thanks to God! not being deprived of judgment, I could discern the good from the evil, persuaded me to hear in a room the said ministers and prayers, but for all that it cannot be said that I was ever contented with it. Sir Francis Knollys, whom the said lady my good sister sent at first with my Lord Scrope to keep me, can testify that I would not receive what they call communion, nor be present when it was administered, and so far approve the sacraments in a religion or what is held or esteemed such; I know not besides what could be the proof of his

satisfaction. Moreover the said Knollys can recollect that often he and I have been in disputations and opinions directly opposed on the points of the religion and doctrine of the said ministers, whose part he maintained, and, if he will, as I do not doubt that he will, admit the truth, that from earnestness he has sometimes lost his temper. Since then, being in the custody of Lord Shrewsbury, he caused during a Lent, to come, almost daily, new ministers, whom I made no objection to hear or chat with after their sermons; and, the said Earl of Shrewsbury having kept the most learned and most distinguished for the dessert, it fell to the Bishop of Coventry* to preach at the end of Holy Week; who, among others, can give evidence of the account which I gave him of that which I had heard during the said Lent, which was, in a word, that of all the said ministers I had not found two who kept the same road, but were all medley and of different opinions on the principal points of our faith; so that instead of making me believe a new doctrine, they confirmed me in my own, for they delivered them to me in so many fashions, and so ill-seasoned to my liking, that if I had felt inclined to change, they would have made me lose the relish for it. In two things only I found them agree: the one, in making invectives as they proceeded against the Pope, and the Catholic princes, or at least their most distinguished ministers; the other, in a certain form which I understand is prescribed and delivered to them, to pray for the state of this kingdom, to which they are bound and astricted. As for the rest, according to my judgment, they had among them as many religions as heads. Since then I did not refuse to hear the common prayers for the satisfaction of the said lady, my good sister, not until the rebellion of the north, as is alleged, for I had

* This was Thomas Bentham, one of the translators of "The Bishops' Bible." He died 19th February, 1578.

never relied upon it, but until I saw myself without hope in her promises, and that she had no inclination either to keep me or to let me go, and that all the negotiations and conferences were turned into wind and mockery; and protest moreover that I did not discontinue it to displease her in any sort whatever, but upon some harshness which was used to me, which I had not as yet experienced since I was in her hands, which was not to permit me to pass but from my chamber to the hall. I was well pleased to take opportunity to refuse to go there when they wished, and went no more to the said prayers, as already I was well inclined to that course, knowing that my friends were scandalized by it. And, in truth, I have well considered it more and more, that although from heart and mouth I protested that I did not consent or adhere to such doctrine, I ought not to assist either at the sermons or the prayers, since they are not received by the Catholic Church, and that being separate from it, they cannot be profitable or agreeable to God. This is all which I have to say to the said rejoinders." (*Recueil*, iv. 94-99.)

Her remarks on the "preaching" of the "reformed ministers" is extremely amusing.

While stedfast in her own devotional conduct, and careful for her reputation in that particular, she was no less regardful of the eternal interests of her household; as, among many other instances, appears from her application to the Cardinal of Lorraine, for a rule of spiritual direction:

"There has fallen into my hands a prayer-book, corrected by the Pope, with which I should wish to provide my servants; and because there is an edict which prohibits the use of any prayers in the vulgar tongue, my little flock being, God be thanked! all Catholics, I should wish to know if the vulgar prayer is generally prohibited to those, who, after having said their prayers, have private devotions, and especially the Manual in French. Which I beg you will learn from

the said nuncio, and request my uncle that he will order some prayers for recital after the office to all my household: for some will never pray without that. We have no other practice of religion, except the reading of the sermons of Monsieur Picard, to which they all muster. It will be charity in you to give to the prisoners a rule. We have as much leisure as the religious." (*Recueil*, iv. 129.)

At page 362 of the present volume, reference is made in a foot-note to the celebrated work entitled *Leycester's Commonwealth:* which has usually been ascribed to Father Persons, although it now seems as generally admitted that he had nothing to do with it. Besides his own denial, which might otherwise perhaps be questioned, there is sufficient internal evidence to the contrary. Among Catholics, he has been absolved by the distinguished names of Lingard and Tierney; and among Protestants, by Antony à Wood and others; men too solicitous of truth to be warped by the prejudices either of religion or politics. In the British Museum, among Cole's MSS. are two interesting letters by Dr. Ashton, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Dean Mosse, proving it to have been the work of a courtier. By the politeness of the Rev. Dr. Maguire, through the kindness of my friend the Rev. Mr. Tierney, I am enabled to give extracts from them, with the remarks of these gentlemen.

Dr. Maguire says:—"The letters of Ashton and Mosse were written, it appears, on occasion of a certain J. L. whose manifold blunders Mosse smartly criticises. When Mosse says, 'His it could not be if written in 1570,' he is arguing against J. L. The real date he believes to be 1583, or thereabouts, from various indications contained in this book, *e.g.* its speaking of Grindal as the last Archbishop of Canterbury," &c. (p. 79.)

"In the same part of Cole's Collectanea, is an entry

of an observation made by Mr. Baker, in reference to the remark that Persons was not the author, *because* Pitts and Ribadeneira do not include the work in their lists of his writings. Baker says: 'This is no argument; for the work being a libel, his friends would naturally be silent about it.'"

. . . . "Persons has bin long esteem'd the author of it; and his name is set to it in some editions, but I can't yet believe that 'twas his for several reasons. *First*, there is nothing in it of the fierce and turbulent spirit of that Jesuit, but a tender concern for the Queen and Government, both in Church and State. *Secondly*, the book makes a Papist own that several of the priests and others were traitours, and justly executed; and often commends Burleigh, who was the chief prosecutor, and ordered the writing of the *Book of Justice*, &c., which certainly Persons would not have done, whose errand into England, not long before, was to renew the excommunication of the Queen, and declare her subjects freed from their allegiance; nay, bound to take up arms against her; especially since Campian, his brother missionary, was one of those martyrs, and he himself very narrowly escaped. *Thirdly*, when Persons and Campian came into England, in 80, 'twas to further the designs of the King of Spain, and persuade the people that upon the Queen's forfeiture, *he* had a right to to take possession of her crown. But there's nothing looks that way in the book (though J. L. affirms it), unless defending the title of the Queen of Scots and her son be writing for the invasion. There was a book written a little before this for the Scotch succession, by Leslie, Bishop of Rosse, under the name of Ph. Morgan, even by the connivance of Queen Elizabeth, as Cambden tells us; but the Semin. Priests and Jesuits ran all upon the Spanish right by virtue of the Pope's bull of excommunication, and upon this foot Persons afterwards wrote his Andr. Philopater and Book of Titles, by the name of N. Doleman.

Fourthly, I can't think Persons capable of writing this book; for how could a man that from 75 to his dying day (bating a few months, in the year '80) lived at Rome, be able to know all the secret transactions, both in court and country in England; which perhaps were *mysteries* to all the nation, except a few statesmen of the Queen? *Lastly*, I can't believe that Persons, who was expelled (or forced to resign his fellowship in Baliol) for his immoralities, and then pretended to be a physician, and at last went to Rome and turned Jesuit, would tell that story of *Leicester's Management of the University of Oxford*. There are several other improbabilities, which I leave you to discover. The book seems to me to be written by a man moderate in religion (whether Papist or Protestant I can't say), but a bitter enemy to L . . . . r: one that was intimate to all the court affairs, and to cover himself from the *Bear's fury*, contrived that this book should come as it were from abroad, under the name of Persons. In fine, J. L.'s *Advertisement* is entirely false, as anything Persons ever wrote, bating that the book was formerly printed under the name of Persons. Yours in haste, C. A." (*Collectanea*, vol. xxx. fol. 129.)

"On the back of the same letter, is written by Dr. Mosse as follows:

"I quoted the *Date;* the *Desin;* the *Author;* the *Character*."

. . . . "3. J. L. says, ''Twas supposed to be Persons's.' Now his it could not be, if written in 1570, for he was then but twenty-four years old, and lived a Protestant and fellow of Baliol till 1573. But I do own the book has passed for Persons's, and 'twas printed with his name in 1641, and perhaps in other editions. Dr. James, Oxonian Library keeper, was the first that in print affirmed Persons to be the only author* (in the Life of Persons printed 1612),

* "Not true. Persons was charged with being the author, in the

which he took from common fame, it being then in many mouths that he wrote it from materials sent him by Burleigh. But as it is not very likely that Persons, who lived at Rome, should be acquainted with all the transactions set down in that book, so 'tis less probable that Burleigh should pitch upon him for such a work. And I take that report to be grounded only upon a passage in the book that mentions the papers Burleigh had against Leicester."

"Mosse then retails Antony Wood's account of the book and its editions. He concludes:

"In short, the author is very uncertain, and for anything that appears in it, it may as well be a Protestant's as a Papist's. I should rather think it to be the work of some subtle courtier, who for safety got it printed abroad, and sent into England under the name of Persons."

"Ashton's arguments," says Mr. Tierney, "from the internal evidence of the book, are, I think, quite conclusive. For example, the declaration at page 7, that 'some named in this book (*Burleigh's Execution of Justice*) are openly known to have been in the second (or highest) degree of treason,—as Westmoreland, Norton, Sanders, and the like,'—could never have been made by Persons; while it is equally impossible for that Jesuit to have suggested the contrast between Oxford and Cambridge, which occurs at page 69 of the volume. The words are as follow: 'And surely, if there were no other thing to declare the odds and difference betwixt him and our Chancellor (Burleigh), it were sufficient to behold the present state of the two universities, whereof they are heads and governors: . . . . Consider the fruit of the garden, and thereby you may judge of the gardener's diligence. Look upon the bishoprics, pastor-

---

preface to the reply to his *Wardword*, printed in 1600; and he denied it in his preface to the *Warnword*, published two years later.—M. A. T."

ships, and pulpits of England, and see whence principally they have received their furniture for advancement of the Gospel. And, on the contrary side, look upon the seminaries of Papistry at Rome and *Rheims*,* upon the colleges of Jesuits and other companies of Papists beyond the seas, and see where-hence they are especially fraught.

"'The priests and Jesuits here executed within the land, and other that remain in prison, or abroad in corners, are they not all, in a manner, of that university? . . . . For the most part there of this our time, have they not either gone beyond the seas, or left their places for discontentment in religion, or else become serving men, or followed the bare name of law or physic, without greatly profiting therein, or furthering the service of God's Church in this commonwealth?

"And whence, I pray you, ensueth all this, but by reason that the chief governor thereof is an atheist himself?'" &c. &c. &c.

Perhaps in none of her Majesty's numerous epistles does the affectionate kindliness and sympathy of her heart display itself more, than in the following intimation to the Archbishop of Glasgow of the death of his brother. The letter is dated from Chatsworth, in October 1570:—

"My Lord of Glasgow, instead as I hoped, by my letter, of relieving you of all anxiety, by assuring you in this despatch of the complete confidence which I had in you and the satisfaction which I received from seeing such good evidence of your devoted service, as that which the Cardinal, my uncle, has given me in his letters, I must, to my great regret occasion to you affliction, of which I have received such portion as Raulet can testify to you and others

* "This distinctly proves that the book was written *after* 1578. for it was only in that year that the college, originally established at Douay, removed to Rheims."

of your good friends. In short, God has been pleased to visit you and me, at one blow, taking your brother and the only minister whom I had reserved, to serve and counsel me in this my long affliction and banishment, among my good servants and friends. We must thank God for all things, as you can better admonish me than I you, and so much the more ought we to thank him that he has died a good Christian, an honest man, beloved by every one, and regretted by friends and enemies, especially by me who, having done all the duty of a good mistress and friend in having him attended to, have been evidence to him of a good end, solemnizing with my tears the end of his life and accompanying his soul with my prayers. Now he is very happy, and there whither we must all go; and I remain deprived, in the midst of my troubles, of a faithful and tried servant, and in sorrow for his death and the grief which you will thereby receive, which I should fear to be the cause of putting me to the risk of losing you also, so much am I shattered by repeated misfortunes, if I did not know you to be wise and God-fearing, and so much attached to my service that, for all these considerations, you will resolve to conform yourself to the will of God, taking care to preserve you to serve me. In place of you and your brother, and to support you in it, I have determined to appoint to the commission of his office with me [your brother Andrew Beton], confirming to him the gift made to his brother agreeable to his last will, wherein he called me to assist; by which I beg you to send him to me well instructed in what you wish him to do for you and yours, assuring you that I will apply myself as willingly as for any servant which I have, and more. He had two of his relations and servants here, the one, Aretin Beton, who was with me previously, to whom, when opportunity occurs, I shall most willingly do a good turn for love of him; the other, Thomas Archibald, I have taken into my service and am likewise resolved

to provide for him. If I could do more, to demonstrate how much I loved and esteemed your late brother, I should willingly do it." (*Recueil*, iii. 113.)

Of her untiring anxiety for the welfare of her adherents and faithful servants, there is no lack of evidence in Prince Labanoff's Collections. Two letters, specially in point, still exist in the library at Aix, and may here be set forth. They are both penned from Sheffield, in September 1571, and are addressed to the Archbishop of Glasgow:

"My Lord of Glasgow, I have not had the means of apprising you of the extremity in which I am; but the bearers hereof, exiled perforce, will inform you of it, among whom Bastien had thought to be, but by favour he is left to me, as a very necessary servant, and who, during these troublesome times, comforts me by his designs for needle-work, which is, after my books, the only exercise which is left to me. He has remained in Scotland and here at my request, where he and his wife serve me well and faithfully, and besides is burdened with a family and has no maintenance, although his friends have promised him promotion if he would go to France; wherefore I request you to seek for some office or other appointment, or some captaincy, to which deputing some one, he might have the emoluments of it; as in case that I die in this prison, he may not be left wholly destitute, and that, living, he may have better heart to share my melancholy fate with me. As to the value, if anything is found which was not pressing upon me, I leave it to your discretion to inform me of it, to the extent of two thousand francs which may make him sure, I shall consider it well employed; and, not daring to write more, I beg you to send me your advice, for there is no haste for ready money; but also it is necessary that directions be given to send the wages for this year to him and all those who remain." (*Recueil*, iii. 373.)

This Bastien* was the party on the occasion of whose marriage with one of her favourite women,† Queen Mary gave a masque, and went to attend it on the evening prior to the destruction of that contemptible wretch Darnley. Bastien seems to have been an ingenious, and withal a merry fellow; as may be inferred from the following account by Sir James Melville of one of his devices at the baptism of James VI, which appears to have somewhat nettled the deputies from Elizabeth's court.

"During ther being in Stirling, ther was daily banketing, dancing, and triumphe; and at the principall banket ther fell out ane gret eylest and gruge among the Englis men; for a Frenchman callit Bastien deuysed a number of men formed lyk sattyres, with lang tailes and whippis in ther handis, runnyng befoir the meit, quhilk wes brocht throw the gret hall upon ane trym engyn, marching as apperit it alain, with musiciens clothed lyk maidins, playing upon all sortis of instrumentis and singing of musick. Bot the sattiers wer not content only to red rown, bot pat ther handis behind them to ther tailes, quhilkis they waggit with ther handis, in sic sort as the Englismen supponit it had bene deuysed and done in derision of them, daftly apprehending that quhilk they suld not seam to have vnderstand. For Mester Hattoun, Mester Ligniche, and the maist part of the gentilmen desyred to sowp before the Quen and gret banket, that they mycht se the better the haill ordour and cerimonies of the triumphe; bot sa schone as they saw the sattires waging ther tailes or romples, they all set down upon the bair flure behind the bak of the burd, that they suld not see them selues

* Lord Herries calls him "Sebastian Broune," and states that he was a musician.—*Memoirs, printed for Abbotsford Club*, p. 100.

† Her name appears to have been Crosby; for in directing the distribution of some money by the Archbishop of Glasgow, she says, "I request you to add to these poor Crosby, father-in-law to Bastien, for he has suffered much."—*Recueil*, iv. 251.

scornit, as they thocht. Mester Hattoun said vnto me, gif it wer not in the Quenis presens and hall, he suld put a dagger to the hart of that Frenche knaif Bastien, whom he allegit did it for dispyt, that the Quen maid mair of them then of the Frenchemen. I excused the matter the best I mycht, bot the rumour was sa gret behind the Quenis bak wher hir Maieste sat, and my L. of Bedford, that they hard and turnit about ther faces to wit what the matter menit. I schew them how that it was for the sattiers; sa that the Quen and my L. of Bedford had baith anough ado to get them satisfied. It fell out vnhappily at sic a tym, and the Englis gentill men committed a gret errour to seam till vnderstand it as done against them; bot my L. of Bedford was discret, and interpret all thingis to the best."—*Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, p. 171, *Bannatyne Club edition*, *Edin.* 1827, 4to. To those who are versant in the secret history of the court of the "*virgin Queen*," it may not be surprising that "*Mester Hattoun*" and her other representatives should imagine they saw themselves in the "*sattiers*"*!*

The other letter referred to is in these terms:—"My Lord of Glasgow, although John Gordon, the bearer hereof, is a Protestant, he has been to me a faithful servant, and has written against Knox and the ministers, on behalf of my authority, and with time, I hope, in the hands of learned people, he may be brought back: and therefore I request you to make him associate with and introduce him to some of the most learned, as Master Ringan had begun; and because my Lord Huntly and my Lord Galloway, his father, are in the castle [of Edinburgh] and all their property taken for my service, I beg you will have a care of the bearer in terms of the open letter which he has, and continue to him the said pension and take pains to win him, for he is an accomplished young man of good disposition, and connected with many people of rank: if he could be sent to his uncle,

who is a Jesuit, I make no doubt of his conversion."
—*Recueil*, iii. 374.

The above *John* Gordon was son of Lord Huntly, and not of Lord Galloway, as the construction of the letter and Prince Labanoff's rubrical analysis would induce belief. The error is very pardonable in a foreigner. This *John* is unnoticed in Douglas's Peerage and the other "*authorities;*" but the fact is, that there was a mistake in the name, and that the real party was George, afterwards sixth Earl of Huntly. His Jesuit uncle was James, who, as may be seen by the subjoined note, is commemorated by the Rev. George Oliver, in his valuable and rare Collectanea relating to the British members of the Society of Jesus, in manner therein following.* The "Master Ringan" was the celebrated Ninian Winzet, abbot of the Scottish monastery of St. James at Ratisbon. His *Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris in Scotland*, were reprinted at Edinburgh in 1835, as the contribution of Mr. Gracie to the Maitland Club. A good biographical sketch by Mr. David Laing is prefixed.

---

* "James Gordon, fifth son of George, 4th Earl of Huntly. Born in 1541. Enrolled at Rome among Jesuits, 20 Sep. 1563. After filling highest offices in various colleges of Society throughout France, was appointed *Nuncius Apostolicus* for Ireland, and Prefect of Scottish Mission. Was in bonds for Christ,—only regretting that he should be denied the glory of dying for his religion. Died at Paris on Good Friday, 16 April 1620, aged 77, and in 50th year of religious profession. Interred with unusual pomp and ceremony."

Character drawn by his relation, Sir Robert Gordon (*Genealogy of Earls of Sutherland*, fol. *Edinb.* 1813. p. 363.)

In life of his nephew, John Forbes, alias Father Archangel (8vo. *Douay*, 1628), it is mentioned (p. 4) that he peremptorily refused the marquisate descending to him by death of elder brothers.

He was author of *Controversiarum Fidei adversus hujus temporis Hæreticos Epitome.* First vol. appeared at Poictiers, 1642; 2nd at Paris, in 4to. Reprinted with a third part, in 8vo, at Cologne, 1620.

Qy. Is this F. Gordon mentioned by Dr. Lingard, *History of England*, 4to Ed. p. 559, vol. v. note 87, as having joined a project of getting Arabella Stuart out of England?

Coll. S. J. No. 49. *Scotch memb.* pp. 7, 8.

Whilst at Chatsworth in 1570, Barker, the treacherous secretary to the Duke of Norfolk—"her own good Lord"—had sent her some verses, with which she seems to have been well pleased. (*Recueil*, iii. 87.) Her esteem for literary men and her munificence towards them were equally great. Ronsard,—who dedicated to her the first book of his poems, and of whose writings Mary was so much enamoured, as to send him, by her secretary Nau, in 1583, a present of silver plate, worth two thousand crowns, inscribed "To Ronsard, the French Apollo,"—devoted, in his *Bocage Royal*, a poem to her enemy, Elizabeth; of whom he says, feigning to have heard some one praise her looks,

> "Si ceste Royne Angloise
> Est en beauté pareille à l'Escossoise,
> On voit ensemble en lumiere pareils
> Dedans une Isle esclairer deux soleils."

It may be questioned whether that haughty dame was overpleased with this hypothetical compliment, which so sagaciously evaded her ill-favoured visage, when compared with the numerous enthusiastic encomiums paid—and, in universal estimation, most justly—by the poet to her so much detested rival.

Ronsard was not the only man of letters to whom the generous patronage of Mary was extended. Peter Bizzari, in his dedication to her of his treatise *De Bello et Pace*, thus records an instance of her liberality:—"Est adhuc apud me torques aureus, quo me donavit tua Regalis munificentia, eritque semper inter res mihi cariores, instar pretiosissimi thesauri, quem quidem ut semper mecum circumfero, ita etiam semper admoneor officii mei erga tuam Regiam Majestatem, ejusque Serenissimum fratrem Jacobum Stuardum, de quo ut non possum non semper quàm honorificentissime loqui, sic ejus humanitati me plurimum debere ingenue fateor." (*Opuscula, Venetiis*, 1565, fol. 28.)

His gratitude found still further vent in these lines:—

"Ad Mariam Scotiæ Reginam.

Centenis centena sonent si guttura linguis,
Et mihi si pandant totum Helicona Deæ;
Non ego sufficiam meritas persolvere grates.
Dii referant, hominum qui pia facta vident.
Hi tibi felicem dent semper ducere vitam,
Et tribuant Pylii tempora longa Senis."—Ibid. fol. 123.

Very different was the reception and treatment which he met with from Elizabeth and her courtiers, to the former of whom he inscribed his book *De Optimo Principe*, besides many laudatory verses with which he likewise favoured the latter. See his *Opuscula*, above cited.

The poet Garcilasso de la Vega was sent on a mission to her by Philip II, to whom she expresses the satisfaction which she had received from the manner in which La Vega fulfilled the duties of his office. (*Recueil*, i. 77.) It is not likely that his genius passed unrewarded or unnoticed by her, although of this there seems no record.

Here is an account of her occupation while at Sheffield: "I have nothing else to tell you, except that all my exercise is to read and work in my chamber; and therefore I beseech you, since I have no other exercise, to take the trouble, in addition to the rest, for which I thank you, to send me, as soon as you can, four ounces more or less of the same crimson silk which you sent me some time ago, similar to the pattern which I send you: the safest way is to enquire for it at the same merchant who provided you with the other. The silver is too thick; I beg you will choose it for me as fine as the pattern, and send it to me by the first conveyance, with eight ells of crimson taffeta for lining. If I have it not soon my work must stand still, for which I shall be very vexed, as what I am working is not for myself." (*Recueil*, iv. 119.)

The notices of medicines and liqueurs are interest-

ing: they occur frequently. *Eau de Canelle* seems to have been a liqueur much esteemed by Mary. To many other requests for a supply of it, may be added a memorandum for the Bishop of Ross (24th Jan. 1570-71): "Remembring zow that ze haist hidder the wyne quhilk the perfewmour left with zow, for it may do ws grit pleasour in this estate, togidder the other droggis ze lyke to send, with more cinamon walter and the wirgenellis." (*Recueil*, iii. 173.) Again, she thus writes to La Mothe Fénélon from Sheffield, 18th November, 1561: "Monsieur de La Mothe, the ointment which was used for rubbing my side and my stomach is exhausted, and both are very much worse. I pray you send me some of it, along with cinnamon water and confected nutmegs. Air and exercise are denied me, and thereby my health declines very far." (*Recueil*, iv. 2.) On 27th September, 1573, she writes to him from the same place, to send her "the Mithridate of which I wrote to you, the best and most safely as it can be done." (*Ibid.* p. 84.)

Mary had, in a manner, adopted and brought up with her from infancy a grand-daughter of that well-known vixen the Countess of Shrewsbury, second wife of her noble keeper. To this young lady, whom she loved much, she thus writes with her own hand, on 13th September, 1583:

"Darling, I have received your letter and pretty presents, for which I thank you. I am very glad that you are so well; remain with your father and mother freely this season, as they wish to keep you, for the climate and the season are so disagreeable here that I am already very sensible of the change of the air of Worksop, where I had not gone again, but I am not suffered to command my legs. Remember me to your father and mother very kindly, and to your sister, and to all my acquaintances, if there are any there. I shall cause your black dress to be made and sent to you there, as soon as I have the trimming for

which I have written to London. This is all which I can write to you at present, except to send you as many blessings as there are days in the year, praying God that his may be extended over you and yours for ever.

"In haste, this 13th September.

"Your very affectionate mistress and best friend,

"MARIE R.

"*Addressed:*—To my weil-beloved bed-fallow, Bess Pierpont." (*Recueil*, v. 370.)

But, notwithstanding all her kindness, it appears that, as in everyone else upon whom she lavished her affection, her Majesty experienced disappointment in her "weil-beloved bedfallow." She thus makes mention of her in a letter to Morgan from Chartley, little more than six months previous to her murder:

"I pray yow continue in advertising me from time to time of every occurrent that may come to your eares of any contrye, and by your next especiallye to shew me what yow do meane in your last by advising me to aske Sir Gervais Clifton's* consent in bestowing of Besse Perpoynte, whom I have never sowght to bestow in mariage on any, nayther befor nor since I cawsed the same to be propounded at the Cowntesse of Shrewsburyes sollicitation, and by her meanes to the L. Percye, now Erle of Northumberland, wherof I think you have harde, nor have had any intention for any other, but rather contrarywise have suted by the Q. of Englandes license this halfe yeare and more, to be ridd of her, by reason she is now at her best, browght upp my bedfellow and at borde, ever sithence she had fowre yeares of age, so carefully and verteowsly I trust, as if she had bene my owne dowghter; and, fayling of my owne meanes, accordinglye to have her preferred that her owne parents, for discharge of my conscience and my honorable using of her, might releve me of her losse of time and other

* Elizabeth's "Gentle Sir Gervase."

inconveniences after that I had offered her as a pece of my nourriture (to do her honour) to sarve about the Q. of England; which is not grawnted, but yett on a sodayne they wold have had her from me, which I cold not yeld unto, for that soch honest furniture as then I had in hand for her departure was not yett redye as she and it both are now for an howres warning. *But to be playne, I wold be the rather quitt of her, for that I see too moch of her grandmother's* nature in her behavior every way, notwithstanding all my paynes for the contrarye, and therefore now wold be sorry to have her bestowed upon any man that I wish good unto.* Let me heare, as I have sayd, playnlye and particularlye, what yow have understode or heare anent." (*Recueil*, vi. 424.)

Among the acts of tyrannical and gratuitous cruelty to which this unfortunate sovereign was subjected, and which seem to have increased in number as the days of her weary pilgrimage became fewer, was one which, to a heart so high, so generous, and so benevolent as hers, must have occasioned no ordinary pain. The very exercise of charity in the mere distribution of alms was denied to her. Listen to her plaints on this head to M. de Mauvissière—the kindest to her of all the representatives of France—from the prison-walls of Tutbury, 15th May, 1585:

"Moreover, among the other innovations here, I must complain by you to the Queen my good sister, that the said Paulet would not permit me some days ago to send a few small alms, according to my means, to the poor of this village: which, indeed, I cannot but impute to a very strange severity, it being a pious work and which no Christian should reprobate, and in which the said Paulet might so proceed, making my man be attended by such of his servants and soldiers as he might wish, especially by the constable of the village, as that thereby there should be neither

* The Countess of Shrewsbury.

fault, nor room or ground for suspicion; so that the safety of his charge being thus seen to, it appears to me that it is unreasonable to hinder me in a Christian work, which might, during my sicknesses and sorrows, tend to my consolation, and do no injury or prejudice to any one whatever. You will, if you please, make remonstrance of this in my name to the said Queen my good sister, beseeching her to command Paulet not to use me in this manner, there not being a criminal and prisoner so poor, vile, and abject, to whom this permission is ever, by any law, denied." (*Recueil*, vi. 172.)

Great is the elastic resistance of human life to the agonies, however complicate, of mind and body. Six months, or little more, before her tragical exit, the Queen thus writes to Morgan from Chartley,—a somewhat pleasing picture, could imagination be arrested there:

"I thanke yow for yowr advertisements uppon the bruit given owt of my death, to take heade it be not hastened by indirect or extraordinarye meanes; and so I will, with the grace of God, who, I prayse him continually, hath not yett sett me so low but that I am able to handle my crosbow for killing of a deere, and to gallopp after the howndes on horsebacke, as this afternone I entende to do within the limittes of this parke, and cold ither where, if it were permitted. God almightye preserved yow." (*Recueil*, vi. 426.) The genuineness of this letter has been impugned by Mr. Chalmers, but not on sufficient grounds, we think. (*Life*, i. 426.)

With reference to the conspiracy of Babington, her complete disavowal of all knowledge of it, her care for her servants, her steadfast adherence to the Catholic faith and anxiety for all professing it, are nobly exhibited and set forth in the interesting and painful letter to the Duke of Guise, in vol. vi. (p. 438) of Prince Labanoff's *Recueil;* and which, although contained in the collection by Jebb, has, like very

many others equally accessible, been thrown aside by, or been unknown to, the gatherer for Miss Strickland.

We have now before us a singular, and almost, we believe, *unique,* broadside, formerly in the possession of Mr. Heber, and now in that of Mr. David Laing. It is descriptive of, and appended to, a portrait of Mary, engraved within an oval, "*PM. Jan Bussem, exc.*" and coloured apparently at the time of publication. Date there is none. The portrait resembles closely that by De Leu, engraved in the works of Ronsard (Paris, 1623, folio, p. 1170). Outside of the oval, on the dexter and sinister corners at the top, are two arms projected through a wall, the one holding a pen, the other a wreath of laurel; at the bottom, on the former side, she is represented kneeling with her head on the block, the executioner with his axe in attitude of striking the fatal blow, while a person, arms a-kimbo, is attentively watching the operation: on the latter, the trunk lies extended on the back, while the executioner holds up the dissevered head. Within the oval are the arms of France impaling Scotland—"Maria Regina Scotiæ." Around the portrait are the following lines:

"En tibi magnanimæ Scotorum principis ora,
Regalis necnon genitrix et regia conjunx.
Omnia quam mundi mirantur regna vetusta
Carcere bis denos latuit detenta per annos.
Relligionis amore fideque potens fuit, atque
Imperioque trucis fœdæque viraginis Anglæ
Gratia rara sui rege hæc genitore creata
Jussa Mori tandem superas concepit in auras.
Mortis at horrendam faciem monumenta loquentur."

Anno 87.

We subjoin a translation of the broadside, which is written in German:

"*The Lively Portraiture of Mary Queen of Scotland. Also how, and for what causes, she was taken out of her kingdom into England, and there beheaded.*

"Here thou seest (gracious reader) the lively portraiture of Mary Queen of Scotland, who was beheaded

the 18th day of February last 1587, by command of Elizabeth the Queen of England, for her connexion with the Catholic states, as well in Scotland as England, albeit she was her kinswoman by blood,—a daughter, moreover, of King James V, consort of King Francis of France, and mother of the present King of Scotland, James VI. But that thou shouldst furthermore know, how and from what causes this took place, I will relate the matter to you with all brevity.

"This Queen was born on the 7th of December, 1542, and, after the demise of her father (who did not live more than eight days after she came into the world), she was entrusted to the guardianship of her mother, whose name was likewise Mary, and who was the Duke of Guise's sister. By whom Henry VIII, the King of England, was strongly solicited to give his only son, Edward VI, in wedlock to her foresaid daughter. But this proposal having been rejected, a fierce war arose betwixt England and Scotland, in which France took part with this Queen against England. Queen Mary is sent into France, and there is not only reared and instructed in all devotion to the Catholic faith by the Guises her kinsfolk, but was furthermore married to the said Francis, eldest brother of the present King Henry III of France, when she was in her sixteenth year. After the death of the aforementioned Francis (5th December, 1560), this Mary again took journey to Scotland to her mother, and there she found the country disturbed on all sides with strange creeds. In order that she might bring back the country to a right state, she allied herself, being now twenty-one years old, to Henry Darley, son of Matthew Stuart, a potent and highly Catholic nobleman, by whom she had the present King James VI. But the anti-Catholics first, on the 10th February, 1567, murdered her husband, and thereafter threw her into prison, as though she had compassed his death, from

which she was released by the Catholics on the 3rd of May, in the twenty-sixth year of her age. Soon after, a powerful force took the field against the anti-Catholics; but she lost the battle against these latter, and was forced herself to seek refuge in flight. And now, to the end that the uncatholic Queen of England might bring this Catholic Queen of Scotland into her power, she enticed her unto her by letters, and all manner of fair promises. But no sooner did the aforesaid Mary quit Scotland and repair to England, than she was conveyed to prison. Meanwhile, the uncatholics did whatsoever they pleased with her young son till he was twenty-one years old, and came to his understanding. He would then have taken the management of the kingdom, of the religion, into his own hands, but he too had been imprisoned at Stirling two years before, by the anti-Catholics (1st November), only a month after the Queen of England had taken part with the Netherlanders against the King of Spain. What they will now do with him, that time, and the verse of his tutor, George Buchanan, will shew,—

> "'Sexte, verere Deum, nam te tua deseret ætas,
> Cum tuus ardenti carbunculus uritur igni.'

"But how the Queen of England has managed with her mother, that the aforementioned picture shows,—to wit, that Isabella has followed in the steps of her father Henry VIII, who cut off the head of Anna Boleyn, this Queen of England's mother, upon the scaffold, and what Mary her Catholic sister had not devised for her, though she held her in prison, that hath she inflicted on this other Catholic Mary the Queen of Scotland, whose epitaph follows in these words:

> Illa ego, quæ fata sum regali stirpe parentum,
> Hoc tumulo parvo contumulata tegor.
> Hucque meo constans generoso in pectore virtus,
> Priscaque me torsit, nec temeranda fides.
> Stemmata nil faciunt, nil prosunt sceptra, sed una,
> Dum vixit, pietas, gloria nostra fuit.
> Utque Petri cathedram revereri discas, ob illam,
> En mea martyrio colla resecta vides."

At page ii. I had to acknowledge the attention of my friend Mr. Sharpe; I have now to record the further exercise of his liberality, in the etching of an *unique* coin of Queen Mary, preserved in his cabinet, with which, to illustrate the title-page, I have been presented since the preceding leaves were in proof.

"The portrait of her Majesty on this coin, is entirely unlike any hitherto handed down to us; thus still farther removing the *certainty of resemblanee.* But the legend,—'*Justus fide Vivit*'—testifies, with all things connected in her history, to Mary's resolute and unflinching adherence to 'that which overcometh the world, even OUR FAITH.'"

While putting together these desultory notices, I was favoured, by the kind attention of my friend Mr. Cosmo Innes, with the following extracts from the "Compt of the Collector-General of the Thirds of Benefices, 1561-2," which I am not aware to have been previously printed:

"*Exoneratioun.*

"And of the soume of £313. 6s. 8d. pait to George Monro of Dalcarty at the Quenis grace command and gevin be him to certane capitanes of the hielandmen quhilks convoyit hir hienes fra Invernes to Spey according to hir hienes appointment, &c.

"And of the soume of threscoir fivetene pundis pait be the comptare to David Rycheo Italiane vallet of the chalmer for his yeirlie pensioun granted to him be the Quenis maiestie of the yeir compted, &c. lxxv. li.

"And of the soume of fourty pundis be the comptare to Jo^{n} Despynate francheman to by ane horss at command of our Souerane Ladeis writing, &c. xl. li.

"And of £500 to senior francisco ane of the maister houshaldis for compleit pament of his fee restand awand to him, &c. v^{c} li.

"Fourtie pundis pait at the Quenis maiesties command to certane falconaris of my Lord flemyngis. xl li.

"And of 35 pundis pait be comptare to Adriane Leseau vallet of the Quenis Ma[ties] chalmer at command of hir hienes to pay for the portage of certane cofferis with violis, lwtis and utheris instrumentis of musick brocht to hir Ma[tie] out of France. and for the cariage of the samyn out of Montrois to the palyce of Halyrudehous as hir hienes twa preceptis direct thairupon so purportis. xxxv li."

These introductory paragraphs may be terminated by the concluding words of the funeral discourse pronounced in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris, on the day of her service, by Renauld de Beaulne, Archbishop of Bruges:

"Les autres laissent ce soin à leurs successeurs de leur bastir des beaux riches monumens, pour se garantir de l'oubliance, et laissir à la posterité quelque marque de ce qu'ils ônt esté: mais ceste Royne mourant vous a bien delivré de ce soin, ayant par sa mort tellement gravé en l'esprit des hommes l'image de sa constance, qu'il n'y aura non pas aage, mais siècle, mais temps, mais éternité, si ce bas monde a quelque chose d'éternel, auquel ne vive la memoire de son admirable vertu, patience, sagesse, piété, et constance. Le marbre, le bronse et l'airain se consomment à l'air, ou se rongent par la rouille: mais la souvenance d'un si bel et memorable exemple vivra éternellement." (*Jebb.* ii. 686.)

W. T.

25, *Great King Street, Edinburgh,*
The Feast of the Ascension, 1845.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY,

ETC. ETC.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY,

ETC.

1542.—On the 8th December* was born, in the castle of Linlithgow, Mary Stuart, daughter of James V, King of Scotland, and Mary of Guise, Duchess-dowager of Longueville.

On the 14th of same month, James V died, and was succeeded by Mary, only six days old.

At this time the disciples of Luther were spread over Scotland, and had made many converts; but the Catholics were still in great majority there.

22nd December.—James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, is declared, by act of the Scottish parliament, nearest heir to the crown,† Regent of the kingdom, and tutor to Mary: nevertheless, the Queen-dowager and Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, struggled for a long time against his authority.

1543.—1st July.—The Regent concludes a treaty with Henry VIII, King of England, by which Mary

---

* This is the precise date. I found, in the State Paper Office, London, an autograph letter from Mary in 1584, wherein she says, "*The 8th of December, my forty-second birthday.*"

† He was descended in the direct line from the eldest daughter of James II, king of Scotland.

was to be sent to England when ten years of age, to be married to Edward, son of that sovereign.

9th September.—The Queen of Scotland is crowned at Stirling by Cardinal Beaton.

3rd December.—The parliament of Scotland declares the last treaty made with Henry VIII to be null.

15th December.—The Sieur de La Brosse and Jacques Mesnage, ambassadors from Francis I, sign, at Edinburgh, a treaty of alliance* with the Regent and the Estates of Scotland, who ratify, in the name of Mary, all the treaties formerly entered into between France and Scotland, since the time of King Robert I.

1544.—4th May.—The English forces, under command of the Earl of Hertford, enter Scotland, and the war lasts for two years.

During this troubled period, the little queen, entrusted to the care of Lords J. Erskine and A. Livingston, resided at Stirling Castle, and subsequently at Inch-Mahome, in the lake of Monteith.

1546.—29th May.—Cardinal Beaton is assassinated in the castle of St. Andrews, the victim of religious and political enmities which he had excited.

7th June.—Scotland is included in the treaty of peace signed between France and England.

1547.—28th January.—Henry VIII dies, succeeded by his son Edward VI, aged ten years; and the Earl of Hertford, created Duke of Somerset, is nominated Protector of the kingdom.

31st March.—Francis I, King of France, dies. He is succeeded by his son, Henry II.

---

* The original document is among the Archives of the Kingdom at Paris, *Trésor des Chartes*, J. 679, n. 54.

2nd September.—The Duke of Somerset enters Scotland at the head of twenty thousand men, with the intention of securing the person of the young queen.

10th September.—The battle of Pinkie. The Scottish army, commanded by the Earl of Arran, is routed; but the English do not improve their advantage, and soon retire, after pillaging and burning Leith.

1548.—In February, Somerset issues an address to the people of Scotland, to prove to them the advantages of the projected union of Edward VI with Mary. At the same time, he sends Lord Grey of Wilton, with an army, who takes possession of Haddington, and leaves there an English garrison.

8th February.—The Scottish Lords, assembled at Stirling, determine to offer Mary in marriage to the Dauphin, and propose to send her to France, to be educated there at the court of Henry II. On the same day, the Earl of Arran is created Duke of Chatelherault by the King of France.

2nd April.—The letters-patent of his creation are registered in the parliament of Paris.

16th June.—A French fleet lands at Leith five thousand soldiers. D'Epé, who commands them, forthwith lays siege to Haddington, after reinforcing his army with eight thousand Scots.

7th July.—Dessoles, the French ambassador, procures a ratification, by the three estates of Scotland, at Haddington, of the intended marriage between Mary and the Dauphin, son of Henry II. At the end of July, M. de Brézé, sent for that purpose by the King of France, and Villegaignon, the commodore, receive on board the French fleet, at Dunbarton,

the little Queen of Scotland, and her numerous suite.

13th August, Mary lands at the harbour of Brest: she is immediately conducted to St. Germain-en-Laye, and betrothed to the Dauphin. From that moment, she was educated with the children of Henry II and Catherine of Medicis, and remained in France until her first widowhood.

1550.—1st April.—Conclusion of the peace of Boulogne between England and France: Scotland is included therein.

7th September.—The Queen-dowager of Scotland embarks at Edinburgh, in a French fleet, to visit her daughter in France.

1551.—At the end of October, on her return from Paris, she lands at Portsmouth, and goes to London on 2nd November. Edward VI and his court receive her with all the honours due to her rank.

At the end of November, she arrives at Edinburgh, and finds that during her absence the Reformation had made great progress. The two religious parties which then divided Scotland, developed themselves already in a decided manner: that of the old Catholic religion, was headed by Archbishop Hamilton, brother of the Regent; and the other, by the Earl of Argyll, who was secretly directed by Lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and natural brother of Queen Mary; the same who afterwards became Earl of Murray.

1553.—6th July.—Edward VI dies. His sister Mary succeeds him, and re-establishes the Catholic religion.

In December, Henry II, at the solicitation of the

Queen-dowager of Scotland, writes to the Duke of Chatelherault, to induce him to cede the regency to that princess.

1554.—22nd March.—The young Queen of Scotland directs to the Duke of Chatelherault an order, signed by herself, and countersigned by her guardian, Reid, Bishop of Orkney, by which she commands him to cease his functions as Regent of Scotland. The duke, perceiving that a large portion of the nobility supported the pretensions of the queen-dowager, resigned all his appointments, at the beginning of April, in presence of the three estates in parliament assembled.

12th April.—Mary of Guise is proclaimed Regent of Scotland. She then granted a general amnesty to the Protestants who had been banished, desiring to avail herself of the support of the leaders of that faction, in order to counterbalance the power of the Catholics, the sole support of Hamilton, whom she still feared. This toleration so increased the weight of the reformed party, that, in a very short time, it acquired a great power.

15th July.—Mary, Queen of England, marries Philip, son of the Emperor Charles V.

1555.—25th October.—The Emperor Charles V resigns the sovereignty of the Low-countries to his son Philip.

1556.—6th January.—Charles V abdicates all his kingdoms in favour of Philip II, who then becomes King of Spain. He only reserves to himself the imperial dignity.

In March, Lord James Stuart reconciles himself to the Earl of Glencairn and Erskine of Dun, to invite Knox, the great reformer, to come into Scotland.

In September, the Emperor Charles V renounces the imperial crown in favour of his brother Ferdinand, whom he had caused to be elected King of the Romans in 1531.

1557.—30th October.—King Henry II directs letters-patent to the three estates of Scotland, inviting them to send deputies, in order to discuss the conditions of the marriage of Mary Stuart with the Dauphin, and to assist at the nuptials.

14th December.—The three estates in parliament, assembled at Edinburgh, commit to that effect full powers to nine deputies, viz.: James, Archbishop of Glasgow; David, Bishop of Ross; Robert, Bishop of Orkney; George, Earl of Rothes; Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, the Queen's treasurer; Lord James Stuart, commendator of St. Andrews; Lord James Fleming; Lord George Seaton; and John Erskine of Dun.*

1558.—4th February.—The Queen-dowager of Scotland gives authority to her mother, Antoinette de Bourbon, to represent her at the marriage of her daughter in France.

19th April.—The contract of marriage between Mary and the Dauphin is signed at the Louvre.

24th April.—Their marriage is celebrated with the greatest pomp, in the church of Our Lady at Paris. The young queen immediately salutes her husband King of Scotland, and her example is followed by the deputies from her parliament.

17th November.—Mary, Queen of England, dies; and is succeeded by her sister, Elizabeth. This

---

* The original of this document, sealed with eighteen seals, attached to a double label, is preserved in the Archives of the Kingdom of France, in the *Trésor des Chartes*, J. 680, n. 67.

princess having been declared illegitimate at the time of the divorce and execution of Anne Boleyn, her mother, the succession of Mary Tudor necessarily seemed to devolve upon Mary Stuart;* wherefore Henry II speedily ordered that the titles of King and Queen of England and Ireland should be added to those of King and Queen of Scotland, which were borne by Francis and Mary. Elizabeth, deeply wounded by this injurious manifesto, vowed from that instant an eternal hatred to her young cousin, and pursued her with a savage fury even to the grave.

28th November.—The Parliament of Scotland, having approved the proceedings of its deputies, who had returned from France, registers and publishes all the acts necessary for the validity, in Scotland, of the marriage of their queen with the Dauphin of France.

1559.—15th January.—Elizabeth is crowned at Westminster, by the Bishop of Carlisle, with all the ceremonies of the Catholic ritual. In March, the English parliament repeals the statutes passed in the former reign in favour of the Catholic faith, and re-establishes the reformed religion.

2nd April.—Conclusion of the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, between France, England, and Spain.

In May, the Queen Regent of Scotland, perceiving that the reformed faction became daily more exacting in their demands, and that soon she would not be able to restrain them, caused a proclamation to be issued, whereby it was ordered that all Scots, of

---

* She was grand-daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry the Eighth.

what condition soever they were, should make profession of the Catholic religion, and discharge all its duties.

The nobles of the reformed party immediately assembled, and deputed the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stuart to remonstrate with the queen dowager that she could not without injustice disturb them in their religion, since she herself had permitted, or at least tolerated, the exercise of it; and that they were determined to sacrifice their lives sooner than change their faith.

The queen regent having paid no regard to these remonstrances, the Protestants united themselves under the name of the *Congregation,* betook themselves to arms, and commenced to destroy the images, and to pull down the churches and convents.

On the 25th June, they seized upon Perth, a place then of very great importance.

10th July.—Henry II dies. The Dauphin succeeds him by the name of Francis II.

He is scarcely on the throne, when he orders the Constable Montmorency to quit the court. The Guises, who already governed the new king, were the authors of this disgrace.

1st August.—The Scots of the Reformation party assemble at Stirling, and determine to solicit the support of England.

10th September.—The Duke of Chatelherault and his son, the Earl of Arran, join the rebels.

18th September.—Francis II is crowned at Reims

18th October.—The insurgent Scots enter Edinburgh, and the regent shuts herself up in Leith with the French troops who had come to her assistance.

1560.—In January, an English fleet blockades the harbour, and brings supplies to the leaders of the Congregation.

15th March.—Discovery of the conspiracy of Amboise, upset by the energy of the Duke of Guise.

30th May.—The French ambassadors, Randan and Montluc, with the ministers of Elizabeth, sign, at Berwick, the preliminaries of a treaty of peace between England, France, and Scotland.

11th June.—The Queen-dowager of Scotland dies at Edinburgh.

6th July.—The treaty of Edinburgh is signed, whereby the ambassadors of Francis II and Mary acknowledge that as the crowns of England and Ireland pertain by right to Elizabeth, their sovereigns ought to relinquish the arms and titles of king and queen of these two kingdoms.

5th December.—Francis II dies. His brother, Charles IX, ten years old, succeeds him, and Catherine de Medicis, his mother, seizes upon the regency. Impatient to be revenged on the Guises, whose influence had destroyed her own in the preceding reign, she re-establishes the Constable in all his employments, and soon the Guises receive orders to quit the court.

1561.—The deputies of Queen Mary do not reach Edinburgh before the 20th of February. In the meantime, the parliament of Scotland having learned the intelligence of the death of Francis II, had assembled on the 16th January, and had already deputed Lord James Stuart and the Bishop of Ross to repair to France, to request their sovereign to return to her dominions.

Queen Elizabeth and the King of Spain then also sent ambassadors to Mary, with compliments of condolence.

At the commencement of her viduity, Mary was residing at the court of her brother-in-law; but observing that Catherine de Medicis looked upon her with an evil eye, and that she sought on every occasion to mortify her, she resolved gradually to withdraw from the court.

In March she went to Joinville, and there found the Duke of Guise, who had retired thither. From thence she went to Nancy, to see the Duke of Lorraine.

The Bishop of Ross was already with her; but it was not until the 4th April that her brother, Lord James Stuart, arrived. He had gone by London, to have an interview with Cecil, and to assure Elizabeth of his devotion to the new religion. In the meantime, the Earl of Bedford, Mewtas and Throckmorton, the English ambassadors, persist in frequent interviews with Mary, to endeavour to procure her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but she invariably replies that she cannot do so without the assistance of her council.

4th May.—Lord James Stuart sets out again for Edinburgh, having promised the queen, his sister, that he will soon be on his way to Scotland.

15th May.—Coronation of King Charles IX at Reims. Mary assists at the ceremonial.

About this time M. d'Oysel requests permission for her to pass through England, on her return to Scotland; but Elizabeth, with much asperity, refuses this request.

At the end of June, Mary returns to the court of her brother-in-law, and announces her determination to go to Scotland, in spite of the hostile dispositions of Queen Elizabeth.

21st July.—She definitively quits Paris, and spends some days at St. Germain-en-Laye with the Kings of France and Navarre, Catherine de Medicis, her uncles of Guise, and the greater part of the members of the family of Lorraine.

25th July.—The Queen of Scotland takes leave of the royal family, and sets out on her journey, accompanied by the Duke of Guise, Cardinal Lorraine, and many other persons of the highest distinction.

On the 2nd August she was at Beauvais, on the 7th at Abbeville, and the 9th at Calais, where she found nothing prepared for her voyage save two gallies and two transports.

On the 11th August she sends Lord Henry Stuart of St. Colme to Elizabeth.

15th August.—Mary sails from Calais, accompanied by three of her uncles, the Duke d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elbœuf, and many Scotch and French noblemen, among whom we find likewise Damville, Brantôme, Castelnau de Mauvissière, and Chastelard.

19th August.—She disembarks in safety at Leith, having escaped the cruizers of Elizabeth by coasting the Low Countries as far as Zealand: they captured, however, one of her gallies. She remains at Leith till the evening, and then goes to the palace of Holyrood at Edinburgh.

At the end of August, she nominates Lord James

Stuart, the Earl of Huntly, and Maitland* (the younger of Lethington), her prime ministers.

1st September.—Mary sends Maitland on an embassy to Elizabeth, to assure her of her friendship, and present her with valuable jewels, among which is to be found a diamond cut in the shape of a heart, as a testimony of her disposition to live with her in perfect union.

In the mean time, the Queen of England, seeing the small success of the attempt which she had made to secure the person of her young cousin, dissembles her hatred, and appoints Thomas Randolph to go to compliment her on her arrival, to promise her perpetual alliance, and offer her rich presents.

1st October.—The English ministers insist anew on a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, especially of the fifth article, which prohibited the Queen of Scotland from bearing the arms and using the titles of the kingdom of England. This Mary refuses; replying that an agreement of this sort would be a renunciation of the rights of her birth.

In December, Paul de Foix, ambassador from France to London, and the Marquis de Morette, ambassador from Savoy, arrive at Edinburgh, to congratulate the Queen of Scotland on her return to her dominions.

It was in the suite of the Marquis de Morette that

---

* Maitland, who had already been secretary of state under the regency, was a man of great estate, but false and interested. Pensioned by Elizabeth, he kept a constant correspondence with Cecil, and did nothing without consulting either him or the English ambassador.

David Riccio then went to Scotland, in the capacity of secretary.

1562.—7th February.—Lord James Stuart is created Earl of Marr.

In May, it was proposed that an interview between the two queens should be held at York, towards the end of August. Mary eagerly accedes to this; but, long before the time appointed, Elizabeth alleges various excuses for absenting herself.

11th August.—Queen Mary makes a tour in the north of Scotland, attended by the Earl of Marr and a part of her court.

10th September.—James Stuart, Earl of Marr, is created Earl of Murray.

11th September.—Mary arrives at Inverness, and during the night, Murray (then all-powerful, and who for a long time had been preparing the ruin of the chancellor, the Earl of Huntly), seizes the castle belonging to that nobleman, and causes the governor, Alexander Gordon, to be hanged.

15th October.—The Earl of Huntly is declared rebel, and is not permitted to come to justify himself. He then assembles in haste five hundred men of the clan Gordon, and puts himself in a position of defence.

28th October.—Murray marches from Aberdeen to his encampment, and, after a brave resistance, makes him and his two sons prisoners.

Huntly soon died from the effects of his wounds; his son John Gordon was executed; and Murray obtained the greater part of the possessions of this illustrious and powerful family.

It was then that the Earl of Morton, brother uterine of Murray, was made Chancellor of Scotland.

21st November.—Mary, returning from her tour, arrives at Edinburgh, and falls sick of the influenza: her youth and vigorous constitution soon get the better of the malady.

1563.—10th January.—The Queen of Scotland goes to Castle-Campbell, to be present at the marriage of the Commendator of St. Colme with the sister of the Earl of Argyll.

14th January.—She returns to Edinburgh, and there again remains sick for several weeks.

14th February.—Chastelard, a young Frenchman in the suite of M. de Damville, is found concealed in the bedchamber of Mary, at Burnt island: he is immediately arrested and brought to trial.

22nd February.—He is executed at St. Andrews.

24th February.—The Duke of Guise dies; assassinated some days previously by Poltrot, during the siege of Orleans.

19th March.—Charles IX grants an edict of pacification, dated at Amboise, in favour of the Protestants.

In August, Cardinal Lorraine proposes the Archduke Charles of Austria in marriage to Mary; but she refuses to have him.

20th August.—Randolph returns to Scotland, charged with a new mission on the part of Queen Elizabeth.

1564.—In March, Randolph, ambassador from Elizabeth, urges Mary to give her hand to Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards created Earl of Leicester.

30th March.—Mary replies that it is beneath her dignity to marry a mere subject; yet Randolph persists in making fresh representations on this point.

Castelnau de Mauvissière also comes about this time to Scotland, to induce Mary to marry the Duke of Anjou; but, by the advice of her council, she refuses him, as well as all the other foreign suitors for her hand, (Don Carlos, the Archduke of Austria, the Prince of Condé, and the dukes of Ferrara, Orleans, and Nemours.)

11th April.—The peace adjusted between Charles IX and the Queen of England, is proclaimed at Troyes.

14th April.—The Countess of Lennox, daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII, solicits the hand of the Queen of Scotland for her son Lord Henry Darnley.

4th June.—Mary declares that she will not consent to any interview with Queen Elizabeth, so long as that princess refuses to recognize her as heir to the crown of England.

Elizabeth, who had long been aware of the projects of the Countess of Lennox, commands Randolph to declare that she will not consent to the marriage of Mary with Darnley; yet, on the 5th of July, she grants permission to the Earl of Lennox to go into Scotland, and gives him letters of recommendation for the queen, her cousin.

22nd July.—Mary again makes a tour in the north of Scotland.

4th August.—Charles IX issues an edict, dated from the Chateau of Rousillon in Dauphiny, declaring that henceforward the year in France shall commence on the first of January. Nevertheless it was not till 1567 that the parliament of Paris adopted this law.

4th September.—The Earl of Lennox arrives at

Edinburgh. As the queen was on a tour, he went in the meanwhile to visit the Earl of Atholl, about which time Maitland joins him.

27th September.—Mary gives an audience at Edinburgh, to the Earl of Lennox, and next day sends James Melvil to London with a reply to the letters which Elizabeth had addressed to her.

In December, David Riccio is made Mary's secretary for foreign correspondence, in room of Raulet.

3rd December.—Decree of the parliament of Scotland, by which the Earl of Lennox is rehabilitated in all his effects which had been escheated.

1565.—13th February.—Darnley arrives at Edinburgh, and on the 16th meets Mary at Wemyss Castle, where she had been staying for several days; and from the first he appears to please her.

Mary, being resolved to marry her cousin Darnley, charged Castelnau, who was there on a mission to her, to demand the consent of the King and Queen of France.

18th April.—She received intelligence of their approval, and hastened to announce the same to Elizabeth. As soon as this princess was aware of it, she ordered the Countess of Lennox to be kept in arrest at her house in Whitehall. At the same time she sent Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Scotland with representations to Mary, and to arrange with Murray as to the means of breaking off the projected marriage.

15th May.—Throckmorton arrives at Edinburgh, and begins by summoning the Earls of Lennox and Darnley to return to England, under pain of confiscation of their estates.

On the same day he had an audience of Mary, who

complained bitterly of the exactions and wicked proceedings of Elizabeth; and, in order to prove to him how immoveable her resolution was, she immediately creates Darnley Earl of Ross and Ardmannack, and grants him large possessions in Scotland.

John Hay, sent by Mary to Elizabeth, arrives at the court on the 24th June, and the same day the Countess of Lennox is removed from her house to the Tower of London.

At this time, Murray, the Duke of Chatelherault, and the earls of Argyll and Rothes, secure of the protection of Elizabeth, of which Throckmorton had come to assure them, form a conspiracy to prevent Darnley from marrying the queen, and to place Murray at the head of the government. The plan was, to deliver the Earl of Lennox and his son to the governor of Berwick, and to imprison Mary at Lochleven.

3rd July.—The conspirators seek to arrest Mary near Beath, on the road from Perth to Callendar. But having had intelligence of this design, she escaped them by passing much sooner than was expected.

20th July.—Darnley is created Duke of Albany.

22nd July.—The Bishop of Dunblane arrives from Rome with the pope's dispensation, and the banns of marriage between Queen Mary and Darnley are published in St. Giles's church at Edinburgh.

29th July.—Mary causes her marriage with Darnley to be celebrated in the chapel of Holyrood House, and in virtue of letters-patent signed the day before, she directs that he shall receive the title of King during their marriage.

5th August.—The Earl of Bothwell receives an act of amnesty, and obtains permission to return to Scot-

land. He had been absent for several years, having been accused by Murray of plotting against the state.

19th August.—Tamworth, sent by Elizabeth to remonstrate with Mary on the subject of her marriage, is imprisoned in the castle of Dunbar for having entered Scotland without a passport.

22nd August.—Mary issues a proclamation, by which she declares rebels Murray, Argyll, and their accomplices ; and orders her subjects to array themselves under her banners.

4th September.—Randolph writes to Cecil that Darnley is already so detested and despised by the Scottish nobility, that several lords are resolved to dispatch him on the earliest opportunity.

At the beginning of October, Bothwell is confirmed in the hereditary office of High-Admiral of Scotland, and nominated Warden of the Southern Marches. Huntly and he were then the most influential leaders of the Queen's party.

9th October.—Mary, attended by the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell, puts herself at the head of ten thousand men assembled at Biggar, and marches towards Dumfries. The rebels, overpowered before they could collect their forces, take refuge in England with the Earl of Bedford, who had advanced as far as Carlisle to support them in case of success.

As Elizabeth had engaged to protect them, they sent Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning to London, to entreat her assistance ; but the French and Spanish ambassadors openly accusing the Queen of England of having fomented all these troubles in Scotland, she affected to receive Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning with disdain, and even compelled them to

declare publicly that she had neither supported nor encouraged them.

1566.—2nd February.—Mary nominates Robert Melvil her ambassador in England: she orders him to intercede with Elizabeth in behalf of her mother-in-law, the Countess of Lennox, and to complain of Randolph, whose intrigues became daily more evident.

The same day M. de Rambouillet comes to Edinburgh on the part of Charles IX, to invest Darnley with the insignia of the order of St. Michael.

6th February.—Clarnault arrives at Edinburgh, commissioned by the Cardinal of Lorraine to inform Mary of the result of the conferences held at Bayonne between Charles IX, Catherine de Medicis, Philip II, and the Duke of Alva, relative to the projected alliance of the Catholic powers against the Protestants.

In the meanwhile, Queen Mary, having had evident proofs of the bad faith of Randolph and of his clandestine communication with her rebellious subjects, orders him immediately to quit her kingdom, and charges Melvil to explain to Elizabeth the reasons which have induced her to treat her representative so harshly.

22nd February.—The Earl of Bothwell marries Lady Jane Gordon, sister of the Earl of Huntly. The nuptials were celebrated at the court of Holyrood, and the festivities on this occasion lasted five days.

At this time, Darnley already treats Mary with great neglect, and delivers himself up to all sorts of dissipation: forgetting also what he owes to the love of this princess, he blushes not to load her with mortifying indignities. Finally, having taken umbrage at

David Riccio, then Mary's chief secretary,* (and whom he supposed to have contributed, by his advice, to the refusal of the matrimonial crown to him), he contrives with Morton and the partizans of Murray, the destruction of Riccio, and to compel the Queen to consent to the recall of the banished rebel lords.†

2nd March.—Murray, Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, Ochiltree and others, sign a bond at Newcastle to that effect.‡

7th March.—The Queen holds a parliament for the election of lords of the articles, and to confirm the acts of forfeiture published against Murray and his numerous accomplices.

9th March.—The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay take possession of the palace gates, and Riccio is murdered in the presence of Mary by Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, Ballantyne, and Andrew Kerr, whom Darnley had introduced by a secret passage into the chamber where the Queen was supping with several persons of her court. Huntly and Bothwell escaped by a window from the palace; and Atholl, Fleming, Livingston, and Balfour contrived also to get off,

---

* Maitland, who formerly held this situation, had been removed from the court on account of his known attachment to Murray.

† Darnley, a vain and haughty man, but weak and without resources, was merely the blind tool of the friends of Morton: these had sworn the destruction of Riccio, because they knew he was resolved to use all his influence to have them impeached in parliament, and they considered him the creature of the Pope and the Guises, and consequently as the prop of Catholicism in Scotland.

‡ The original of this bond is preserved in the charter-room of the Earl of Leven and Melville, at Leven House; it has been printed in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iii. part i. p. 188, Edinburgh, 1842, 4to.

whilst the conspirators sought to secure the person of the Queen.

10th March.—Darnley, of his own authority, dissolves the parliament, and colludes in that respect with Murray and the other fugitive lords, who had arrived from Newcastle.

12th March.—Queen Mary regains her ascendancy over Darnley, and retires with him to the castle of Dunbar. She there musters eight thousand men, marches upon Edinburgh, and the murderers of Riccio flee to Berwick ; nevertheless she pardons Murray and the Earl of Argyll, but, retaining her distrust of Maitland, will not consent to his return, but appoints James Melvil to discharge the duties of secretary of state.

At the end of May, Mary, being far advanced in her pregnancy, goes to Stirling to be confined there, to shelter herself from any new attempts on the part of her enemies, and perhaps also to withdraw from Darnley ; but he having joined her, she soon returned to Edinburgh.*

At the same time, Elizabeth was seized with a dangerous sickness, which reduced her to the last extremity. All England was in consternation, and the interests of the two opposing factions, inclined them to place the crown on Mary's head ; but, the danger once passed, their hatreds and divisions broke out more violently than ever.

---

* The joy which she felt, in the first moment of her triumph, when she had made him disclaim the murderers of Riccio, had nearly caused her to forget the faults of her unworthy husband ; but latterly, recalling with horror the ingratitude and baseness of his conduct, she could not avoid despising him.

Elizabeth, having soon recovered her health, sent Killegrew to Mary, to complain that she harboured in Scotland a person named Ruxby, who she pretended was a rebel, but who, at bottom, was really the spy of Cecil.

19th June.—Mary is delivered of a son in the castle of Edinburgh, and James Melvil is immediately sent to London, to announce the event to Queen Elizabeth.

At the beginning of July, James Melvil returns from his mission, with letters of congratulation from the Queen of England and Cecil. Shortly after his arrival, Killegrew departs for London.

29th July.—Castelnau de Mauvissière, sent by Charles IX to congratulate the Queen of Scotland on the birth of her son, arrives at Edinburgh. Joseph, brother of David Riccio, comes with him, and enters the service of Mary.

At the end of September, Maitland is reinstated in his office of secretary of state, owing to the patronage of Murray, who begins to regain his ascendancy over his sister.

29th September.—Mary learns from the Earl of Lennox, that Darnley makes secret preparations to leave Scotland.

30th September.—She goes with him before her Council, and urges him, but in vain, to declare of what he has to complain in her. Darnley will not enter into any explanation, and sets out for Stirling, whence he had come.

6th October.—Bothwell, warden of the Southern Marshes, departs for Liddesdale; and, on the 7th, is wounded there in an encounter with Elliot of Park,

and retires to his castle of the Hermitage, in the neighbourhood.

9th October.—The Queen and the Lords of the Council go to Jedburgh to hold a court of justice.

17th October.—Queen Mary rides to the castle of the Hermitage, and, on her return, becomes dangerously ill.*

On the morrow, she was at the last extremity; but, notwithstanding, some days after, a happy crisis ensued, which saved her life.

Darnley did not come to see her until the 28th of the month, and yet he returned on the following day.

9th November.—Mary, at length recovered from the severe illness which she had at Jedburgh, hastens to quit that town for Kelso, and thence to Dunbar. Darnley remains at Glasgow, and does not follow her.

In spite of the delicate state of her health, Queen Mary soon returns to the consideration of her politi-

---

* Knox and Buchanan attribute this visit of the queen to the violence of her passion for Bothwell; and, in order to give some semblance of truth to their calumny, they pretend that she hastened to the Castle of the Hermitage on the first news of Bothwell being wounded. Robertson and Mr. M. Laing have adopted this version. Nevertheless, we have discovered authentic documents which prove that Bothwell was wounded on the 7th October, and that Mary (attended by Murray) did not go to the Hermitage till the 17th of the same month. See, in the State Paper Office of London, the letter from Lord Scrope to Cecil, dated Carlisle, 8th October 1566, and that from Sir John Forster to Cecil, Berwick, 23rd October 1566. In the British Museum, London, MS. Cotton, Caligula, book iv. fol. 94, a memoir of the time. And in the Sloane Collection, No. 3199, fol. 141, a letter from Lethington to the Archbishop of Glasgow, of 24th October 1566. *History of England*, by John Lingard, vol. vii. p. 357, London, 1838. *History of Scotland*, by P. F. Tytler, vol. vii. p. 58, Edinburgh, 1840.

cal interests. Having heard that a great number of the most influential noblemen at the court of Elizabeth thought of declaring her heir to the throne of England, she writes on this subject, on the 18th of November, to Cecil and the privy council of England.

20th November.—The Queen goes to Craigmillar castle. When there, Murray, Maitland, Huntly, Argyll, and Bothwell, beseech her to divorce Darnley. She will not hear of it.

Being unable to shake her determination, they resolve, shortly after, on the death of Darnley; and Balfour draws up a bond to that effect, which he signs with Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyll.

17th December.—The son of Queen Mary is baptized by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, at Stirling, after the rites of the Catholic Church, and is named Charles James. The Countess of Argyll, supported by the Earl of Bedford, represents Queen Elizabeth there; the Count de Brienne and M. Du Croc attend on the part of Charles IX: as for the Marquis de Morette, sent by Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, he did not arrive till after the ceremony.

Darnley did not then appear at court, because Elizabeth had prohibited her ambassador from recognising him as king, or giving him that title.

24th December. — Mary grants an amnesty to Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and all their accomplices, excepting George Douglas and Andrew Ker of Faudonside, who had dared to menace her with their weapons, while assassinating Riccio.

1567.—3rd January.—The Earl of Bedford takes leave of Mary at Stirling.

5th January.—Darnley is seized with the small-pox

at Glasgow, where he had been residing for some time. The queen, hearing of it, hastens to send her physician to him.

6th January.—The Earl of Bedford departs for Berwick; and, on the same day, Joseph Lutyni, one of the household of Mary, leaves Edinburgh on his way to France.

13th January.—Darnley is accused of hatching another plot against the queen. She is then at Stirling, but returns in haste with her son to Edinburgh, and directs her council to institute an enquiry into the matter.

The most active investigation being unproductive of any result, Mary remains in doubt as to these reports; yet she yields to the solicitation of the French ambassador, and is reconciled to her husband.

17th January.—On the accusation of Joseph Riccio and other officers of her household, who charge Lutyni with having stolen their money and jewels, Mary writes to the marshal of Berwick, entreating him to cause him to be arrested.*

25th January.—Mary rejoins Darnley at Glasgow. She finds him already completely recovered, and, soon after, conducts him to Linlithgow, where she remains two days with him.

31st January.—They arrive together at Edinburgh.

---

* There is, in the State Paper Office, London, a letter from Joseph Riccio to Lutyni, written at the same time, which proves that both of them were then contriving something serious, which they were extremely afraid Mary should discover. See *History of Scotland*, by P. F. Tytler, vol. vii. p. 441, Edinburgh, 1840; and in the *Quarterly Review* for March 1841, p. 303, an interesting article by Lord Mahon.

The queen, dreading infection from the disease which had afflicted her husband, will not permit him to reside in the palace where the young prince is: she causes him to lodge in a house belonging to the provost of St. Mary's collegiate church, called the Kirk of Field, situated without the walls of the city.

Thereafter she often visits her husband, and also passes several nights in a room beneath that in which he slept.

In the meanwhile the plot against Darnley makes rapid progress. Bothwell and his accomplices already bestir themselves to ensure its execution, and only wait for a favourable opportunity. As for Murray, informed of all things which he had planned, he leaves Edinburgh on the 9th February, on pretence of visiting his wife at St. Andrews.

The same evening, the queen, who had spent a great portion of the day with her husband, leaves him at eleven o'clock, to attend a masque given at Holyrood, in honour of the marriage of Bastian, one of her servants, with Margaret Carwood, her principal bed-chamber-woman. She there remains some time, and retires to her apartment a little after midnight.

10th February.—At two o'clock in the morning, the house of Kirk of Field is blown up by gunpowder, and the body of Darnley is found in the garden, along with that of Taylor, his favourite page.

Mary, struck with horror at the intelligence, immediately announces her determination to visit this atrocious crime with the most signal vengeance, and orders her council to make all the requisite investigations.

The council assemble forthwith, and despatch Clarnault to France, with a letter addressed to Catherine de Medicis, informing her of the catastrophe.*

12th February.—Mary issues a proclamation, offering rewards to such as shall discover the murderers of Darnley.

15th February.—Murray, who had left the court on the evening of the murder, returns, and takes his seat in the council. Bothwell was already generally accused of Darnley's murder: during the night, anonymous placards were posted over the town, containing the names of the alleged murderers, in which lists his name figured the foremost.

17th February.—The queen orders the usual proclamations to be made for summoning a parliament, charged to institute proceedings against the supposed murderers.

24th March.—The Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, formally accuses Bothwell of the murder of his son, and the 12th April is fixed for the trial of the accused.

11th April.—The Earl of Lennox, intimidated by the great number and power of the noblemen who support Bothwell, demands an adjournment of the trial, does not come to Edinburgh, and protests against all that may be done in his absence.

12th April.—The Court of Justiciary, whereof the Earl of Argyll is president, refuses to admit the protest of the Earl of Lennox, and rejects the proposal of adjournment, which had been made by one of the

---

* A copy of this letter is in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, MS. 3199.

judges. Nobody appearing to accuse Bothwell, the jury returns a verdict in his favour.

Murray had left Edinburgh some days previously, to go to France.

14th April.—Huntly repossesses himself of his confiscated estates; and Mary confirms the grants formerly made to Murray, Bothwell, Morton, Crawford, Rothes, Sempill, Herries, and Maitland.

19th April.—Close of the sittings of parliament. The same evening, Morton, Argyll, Huntly, Cassillis, Sutherland, Glencairn, Rothes, Caithness, Herries, Hume, Boyd, Seaton, Sinclair, and a great number of other Scotch noblemen, as well as several bishops of the kingdom, assemble at Bothwell's residence, sign a bond by which they oblige themselves to defend him against all calumniators, and promise to do all that in them lies to make the queen marry him, as soon as the law will permit.

21st April.—Mary goes to Stirling, where the prince her son was residing under the care of the Earl of Marr.

24th April.—The Queen leaves Stirling to return to Edinburgh; when near Almond bridge, she meets Bothwell at the head of eight hundred horsemen, who surround and conduct her to the castle of Dunbar, along with Huntly, Maitland, and James Melvil, who formed part of her suite.

On the morrow these three are set at liberty; but Mary, detained there for ten days, does not leave Dunbar before she has consented to become the wife of Bothwell.*

* It is averred that Bothwell employed violence against the

1567 1567

3rd May.—Mary is brought back to the castle of Edinburgh, treated as a prisoner; all the outlets being guarded, and no one permitted to approach her, except in the presence of Bothwell.

7th May.—The Consistorial and Archiepiscopal Courts simultaneously pronounce sentence of divorce between Bothwell and Jane Gordon, his wife.

12th May.—The queen declares before the lords of the session that she forgives Bothwell for the violence which he had used towards her person, and assures them that he has entirely restored her to liberty.

The same day she creates him Duke of Orkney.

14th May.—Mary grants pardon to all those who were parties to the bond of April 19th in favour of Bothwell, and thereafter signs her contract of marriage.

15th May.—Mary marries Bothwell. The ceremony is celebrated according to the Protestant rites, by Adam, bishop of Orkney, in one of the rooms of the palace of Holyrood: she is attired in a mourning habit.

M. du Croc, the French ambassador, refuses to be present; but he visits the queen on the same day, and finds her a prey to the deepest sorrow.*

---

queen: even her enemies admit it, in their reply to Throckmorton (Keith, p. 418; Stevenson, 223), and Melvil also concurs with them in his *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 249. See Lingard, vol. vii. p. 371.

* See in the Royal Library at Paris, Harlay Collection, MS. 218, the letter which Du Croc addresses to Catherine de Medicis, three days after, and which Mr. P. F. Tytler has printed in his *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 455, from a copy which I gave him. "Thursday (*the very day of her marriage*) her Majesty sent

Soon after, the Bishop of Dunblane was ordered to go to France, and Robert Melvil to Elizabeth, to announce the marriage and endeavour to have it recognized.

The marriage once effected, the greater part of the nobility of most consideration openly league against Bothwell, and hold several meetings at Stirling, on pretence of deliberating on the means of restoring Mary, whom they consider a prisoner, to liberty.

In the meanwhile, this unfortunate princess issues a proclamation to allay the turbulence of the people; but her proclamation produced no effect: appearances were too strong against her, and Bothwell, thinking himself no longer safe in Edinburgh, retired with his Queen to Borthwick.

7th June.—The rebel lords march against this castle with the forces which they had mustered, and surround it. Nevertheless Bothwell and Mary manage to escape during the night, and betake themselves to Dunbar.

11th June.—Morton and the other confederate

---

for me, when I perceived a strange formality between her and her husband, which she begged me to excuse, saying that if I saw her sad, it was because she did not wish to be happy, as she said she could never be, wishing only for death. Yesterday being all alone in a closet with the Earl of Bothwell, she called aloud for them to give her a knife to kill herself with. Those who were in the room adjoining the closet heard her." Melvil, in his *Memoirs*, gives the same details; they may be found p. 180 of the Bannatyne Club edition: "The queen, wha was sa disdanfully handlit, and with sic reprocheful langage, that Arthour Askin and I being present, hard her ask a knyf to stik hirself, 'or elis,' said sche, 'I sall drown myself.'"

lords enter Edinburgh, and announce by a placard that their Queen being detained prisoner by Bothwell, they have named a secret council to govern the kingdom and procure the deliverance of their sovereign.

12th June.—The lords of the secret council issue a proclamation against Bothwell, accusing him of the murder of Darnley, of the abduction of the Queen, and of having used violence in order to compel her to marry him.

14th June.—Bothwell, having mustered 2500 men, quits Dunbar, and marches by Gladsmuir to Seaton.

15th June.—The insurgents reach Musselburgh, and meet the Queen's forces near Carberry Hill. Bothwell wishes to resist his adversaries, but the greater portion of his troops evincing much reluctance, he abandons his plans of resistance and flees to Dunbar.

The Queen then treats with Kirkcaldy of Grange, and surrenders to him. She is conducted to Edinburgh, and remains shut up twenty-two hours in the provost's house, in the greatest bereavement.

16th June.—A great portion of the nobility proclaim, at Edinburgh, a bond of association, by which they oblige themselves to bring Bothwell to justice for the murder of Darnley.

The same day, the Earls of Morton, Atholl, Marr, Glencairn, and Lords Sempill, J. Graham, Sanquhar, and Ochiltree, sign the warrant for their Queen's imprisonment.

17th June.—Lindsay and Ruthven conduct her to Lochleven Castle, the residence of William Douglas, brother uterine of Murray and heir to Morton.

23rd June.—Villeroy, the French ambassador, arrives at Edinburgh, and in vain requests permission to see Mary. This permission is also refused to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador.

26th June.—Proclamation by the lords of the secret council for the seizure of Bothwell, who till then was resident at Dunbar.

27th June.—Bothwell unimpeded sails from the harbour with three vessels, and steers his course towards Orkney. The council then give some ships of war to Kirkcaldy, who goes in pursuit of Bothwell. He overtakes him, and captures two of his vessels. Bothwell escapes in the third, and steers for Norway, but is taken prisoner by the Danish cruizers, and accused of piracy. Conducted by them to Denmark, he is thrown into prison at Malmoë, where, in spite of his remonstrances, he remains confined during the rest of his life.

18th July.—The lords of the secret council suggest to Mary the disavowal of her marriage with Bothwell. She refuses, being unable to consent to bastardize the infant of which she was then pregnant.*

* See letter from Throckmorton to Elizabeth, of 19th July 1567. This letter, preserved in the British Museum (Cotton MSS. Caligula C. I. fol. 18), has been printed by Robertson, Appendix, No. XXII. Throckmorton says, in speaking of Mary, "I have also persuaded her to conform herself to renounce Bothwell for her husband, and to be contented to suffer a divorce to pass betwixt them ; she has sent me word that she will in noways consent unto that, but rather die ; grounding herself upon this reason, taking herself to be seven weeks gone with child, by renouncing Bothwell she should acknowledge herself to be with child of a bastard, and to have forfeited her honour ; which she will not do to die for it. I have persuaded her, to save her own life and her child, to choose the least hard condition."

24th July.—Lindsay and Ruthven compel the queen to sign an act of abdication in favour of her son, and to nominate Murray regent of the kingdom of Scotland. Throckmorton had secretly sent her a letter by Sir Robert Melvil, in which he counselled her to consent without hesitation to whatever might be exacted from her, since, in the position in which she found herself, any act of the kind would not be valid.

29th July.—The young son of Mary, aged only thirteen months, is crowned at Stirling under the name of James VI. The ceremonial is commenced by reading the act of abdication by the Queen-mother, and Lords Lindsay and Ruthven declare, upon oath, that she had voluntarily consented to this act. The English ambassador refused to appear at this solemnity; the Hamiltons, and many other great families of the kingdom, also refused to assist.

In the beginning of August, the Duke of Alva enters the Low Countries with an army of ten thousand men, which he brought back from Italy.

11th August.—The Earl of Murray arrives at Edinburgh. In returning from France he had again gone by London to confer with the ministers of Elizabeth. He was closely followed by M. de Lignerolles, sent by Charles IX to Mary.

16th August.—Murray went to Loch Leven to see his unfortunate sister, and, with his usual dexterity, he succeeded in persuading her that, her life being threatened, he alone could save her; so that she herself urges him to accept the regency.

22nd August.—Murray is proclaimed regent of Scotland, and M. de Lignerolles, not having then

been able to procure from him permission to see Mary, immediately leaves Edinburgh.

4th December.—Act of the privy council of Murray, who, to justify the detention of Mary, makes mention for the first time of love letters and promises of marriage attributed to that princess.

Morton pretended to have found these in a silver casket,* seized on the 20th June preceding, in the hands of George Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell.

15th December.—The Scottish parliament, summoned by Murray, passes an act something similar to that of the privy council.

20th December.—The Scottish parliament declares Bothwell guilty of high treason in having carried off the Queen, detained her prisoner, and compelled her to marry him.

1568.—In February Mary is delivered of a daughter at Loch Leven; the child is carried to France, where she eventually became a nun in the convent of our Lady at Soissons.†

---

* This casket is now in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. See, for the details concerning it, the *History of Scotland*, by Malcolm Laing, vol. ii. p. 235, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1819.

† The pregnancy of the queen of Scotland has been denied by Gilbert Stuart, who wrote in 1782. But Dr. Lingard having reproduced this fact as certain in his *History of England*, I have thought it right to adopt his account, supporting myself moreover by the testimony of Le Laboureur, an historian worthy of great credit, who, in his additions to the *Memoirs of Castelnau*, vol. i. p. 610, of the edition of 1731, speaks of the daughter of Mary Stuart. It must be remembered that the author whom I cite held an office of trust at the French court (he was the king's councillor and almoner), and that he had means of knowing several particulars

23rd March.—Conclusion of the peace of Longjumeau.

25th March.—George Douglas, the brother of William, makes an ineffectual attempt to deliver Mary: being unable to accomplish it, he saved himself only.

On the first tidings of this event, Murray hastened to Loch Leven.

In April, M. de Beaumont, the French ambassador, arrives in Scotland.

27th April.—He obtains an audience of Murray, and in vain demands the liberty of Mary, which the regent had solemnly promised to Charles IX and Catherine de Medicis on leaving France.

2nd May.—Mary contrives to escape from Loch Leven, with the assistance of little Douglas, aged sixteen. John Beaton, one of the brothers of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and George Douglas, who had lain concealed in the neighbourhood, receive her on landing. Lord Claude Hamilton having soon joined them with a strong escort, they conduct the Queen to West Niddry, a castle belonging to Lord Seaton.

3rd May.—She arrives in safety at Hamilton Palace, and there revokes her abdication. On hearing this, the Earls of Argyll, Cassillis, Eglinton, Rothes, and Lords Somerville, Yester, Livingston, Herries, Fleming, Ross, Borthwick, as well as a great number of other noblemen, hasten to pay her homage. M. de

---

long kept secret. Besides, when he published his work, it was easy for him to consult the registers of the convent of Our Lady at Soissons, and to assure himself if Mary's daughter had really been a nun there.

Beaumont, ambassador from Charles IX, goes in like manner to pay his respects.

Mary soon found herself at the head of six thousand men, ready to sacrifice everything to replace her on the throne; but she lost a favourable opportunity, in the vain hope of bringing Murray to a reconciliation. Meanwhile her enemies assembled, under the command of Kirkcaldy of Grange and Morton, and on the 12th May, Murray, who was then at Glasgow, declares all the supporters of the Queen of Scotland guilty of high treason.

13th May.—Mary leaves Hamilton palace, on her way to Dumbarton, and gives battle to Murray at Langside. The result being fatal to her party, she flies for safety to Galloway, and thence to Dundrennan abbey, near Kirkcudbright.

15th May.—Afraid of falling into the hands of Murray, and remembering how often Elizabeth had urged her to come to England, she orders Lord Herries to write to Lowther, lieutenant-governor of Carlisle, to know what reception he could give her. The same day, she sends James Beaton to London, to demand the assistance of the queen her cousin, and to apprise her of the intention which she had of taking refuge in her kingdom.

16th May.—Mary, in spite of the remonstrances of all those who accompanied her, resolves to go into England before receiving Lowther's reply. She crosses the Solway frith in a fishing-boat, and lands, with a very small suite, at Workington, on the coast of Cumberland.

17th May.—The unfortunate Queen of Scotland at length arrived at Workington, writes to Elizabeth,

announcing her arrival, and beseeching her to send for her as soon as possible.

18th May.—Lowther conducts Mary to Cockermouth, and thence, on the morrow, to Carlisle, with all the honours due to her rank.

The Earl of Northumberland, being lord of the town of Cockermouth, demands that the Queen of Scotland shall be entrusted to his care; but Lowther refuses, until the receipt of orders from his sovereign.

19th May.—M. de Beaumont, who had joined Mary at Carlisle, departs for France.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth signs at Greenwich a warrant, directed to the sheriffs and justices of peace of the county of Cumberland, by which they are enjoined to treat Mary with every possible respect, but nevertheless to watch her carefully, and to adopt all necessary precautions against her escape.

28th May.—Lord Scrope, governor of Carlisle, and warden of the Northern Marches, and Sir Francis Knollys, vice-chamberlain of the Queen of England, come from her with letters of condolence to Mary; and Lady Scrope, sister to the Duke of Norfolk, is directed to remain with her, with these two lords.

The same day, at London, the Earl and Countess of Lennox present themselves before Elizabeth, to demand from her justice against Mary.

4th June.—Lord Herries, whom the Queen of Scotland had sent to Elizabeth, again to solicit permission to come to her court, arrives at Greenwich.

8th June.—Middlemore leaves London, sent by Elizabeth to Carlisle, and thence to Scotland.

13th June.—He arrives at Carlisle, and delivers to Mary a letter from Elizabeth, in which that princess refuses to admit her to her presence, until she is

cleared from the charge of participation in the murder of her husband.

15th June.—Middlemore goes to join Murray at Dumfries, and delivers to him a letter from Elizabeth, who tells him that he is accused of high treason against the Queen of Scotland, his sovereign, and that he is required to go to York, to justify himself before a commission named for that purpose.

21st June.—M. de Montmorin, who had come to visit Mary on the part of Charles IX, leaves Carlisle for London, and thence for France, with letters from this princess for the Queen of England, the King of France, the Duke of Anjou, and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

At the commencement of her residence at Carlisle, Mary was apparently treated with much respect; but, in reality, she was already the object of a most vigilant superintendence, and imperceptibly Lord Scrope adopted daily severer measures on his own account, so that she soon became, in fact, a complete prisoner.

13th July.—In spite of all her protestations, the Queen of Scotland is obliged to leave Carlisle, under the escort of Sir George Bowes.

16th July.—She arrives at Bolton castle, belonging to Lord Scrope, in the county of York.

Mary had rejected, on several occasions, the proposal made to her to justify herself before a commission, and had never ceased to assist on being admitted to the presence of Elizabeth. Yet, at length, she consented that the English commissioners should enquire into the conduct of Murray and his friends. The ministers of Elizabeth then proposed to Mary that she should name deputies to assist, on her part, at

1568

the conferences which were to be held on the subject. To this, unhappily, she consented, contrary to the advice of her best councillors, and thereby submitted herself implicitly to the decision of the commissioners of Elizabeth.

4th October.—The conferences are opened at York: the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, appear there as commissioners on the part of the Queen of England; Leslie, bishop of Ross, Lords Livingston, Boyd, Herries, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, for Mary; and on the part of the rebels, Murray, Morton, Lindsay, the Bishop of Orkney, and the Abbot of Dunfermline: as for W. Maitland, Robert Melvil, Buchanan and Wood, they were only at York as the advisers and secretaries of Murray.

In the conference of 8th October, the representatives of the Queen of Scotland accuse, in her name, Murray and his accomplices of having taken arms against her, of having detained her prisoner at Loch Leven, and of having compelled her by force and menaces to sign the act of abdication.

On the morrow, Maitland and Buchanan communicate to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, the pretended love-letters and other documents attributed to Mary, not in their capacity as commissioners of the Queen of England, but merely in the quality of private instruments.

10th October.—The conferences are suspended, to await fresh instructions from Queen Elizabeth.

19th October.—The Duke of Norfolk states that the Queen of England requires two deputies from each side to be sent to her, in order to give her various explanations.

1568

24th October.—The English commissioners announce to those of Mary, that Elizabeth has decided that the conferences shall be resumed at London in presence of her and her council. The Queen of Scotland then nominates the Bishop of Ross, Lords Boyd and Herries, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, to appear for her.

About this time the Duke of Norfolk, who for some time had entertained the idea of a marriage with the Queen of Scotland, communicates his views to Maitland, who seems to approve of his designs, and promises to second them.

14th November.—M. de la Mothe Fénélon succeeds M. Bochetel de la Forest in the French embassy at London.

25th November.—Elizabeth gives an audience to Murray; the conferences are resumed at Westminster before the council, and held thereafter both at Westminster and at Hampton Court.

Since the opening of the conferences, the Bishop of Ross had demanded at several meetings that the Queen of Scotland might be allowed to come to London, to defend herself, in presence of the nobles of the land and the ambassadors of France and Spain: but Elizabeth and her ministers would never consent to it.

In this state of matters, on 6th December, the commissioners of Mary protest, in her name, against all that is done, and declare the conferences at an end: Cecil does not admit the protest.

8th December.—Murray officially produces before the English commissioners the love-letters and other papers attributed to Mary, and accuses her of having

been a party to the plot devised by Bothwell against Darnley.

The Queen of Scotland, informed of the calumnies propagated against her by the agents of Murray and by Murray himself, sends to the commissioners, on the 19th December, a protest against these false accusations, and at the same time against her abdication.

24th December.—The commissioners of Mary appear before Elizabeth's council, produce the last instructions from their sovereign, and accuse Murray and Morton of having participated in the murder of Darnley.

1569.—7th January.—The Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, admitted to the presence of Queen Elizabeth and her council, again accuse Murray and his adherents of the murder of Darnley, and insist, in the name of Mary, on having an exhibition and copies of the letters and other documents attributed to her by her enemies.

Next day, Elizabeth replied that she would consider of this demand, and promised to let them know in a short time at what decision she arrived. Meanwhile, Cecil and his colleagues endeavoured to effect an arrangement between Murray and the representatives of the Scottish Queen: they had proposed for its groundwork the abdication of this princess in favour of her son. Mary, informed of this overture by her commissioners, replies to it by a protest.

Elizabeth, seeing the firmness and dignity with which her unfortunate cousin repelled all the charges brought against her, and fearing probably that the papers produced by Murray would not bear a strict

1569

scrutiny, ordered Cecil, on the 11th January, to declare in her name to the commissioners of the two parties, that as, on either side, nothing had been proved, they should put an end to the conferences.

12th January.—The Queen of England grants an audience to Murray, who asks and obtains permission to return to Edinburgh.

13th January.—The Bishop of Ross protests against the validity of any acts which they might cause Mary to sign, so long as she did not enjoy her liberty, and repeats his assurance that his sovereign will never consent to resign her crown, as Elizabeth had proposed to her on several occasions.

At this time, Murray, knowing that the partizans of Mary were assembled on the frontiers of England, and prepared to intercept him, procured a reconciliation with the Duke of Norfolk, pretending that he was very desirous of the marriage of the duke with the Scottish Queen, and, by this means, obtained from Mary an order that he should not be molested on his return.

20th January.—Elizabeth, having some suspicion of the plans of the Duke of Norfolk, and mistrusting Lord Scrope, the duke's brother-in-law, orders the Queen of Scotland to be removed from Bolton to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and entrusts her to the keeping of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

About this time, also, Philip II wrote to Mary, suggesting that she should marry Don John of Austria. She replied that, in her position, so long as she was in the hands of Elizabeth, she could make no engagement, and that, before all, she required assistance to re-establish herself on the throne of Scotland.

Soon after, Mary, being informed that a powerful party had arisen in the north of England to deliver her, and re-establish the Catholic religion, sent John Hamilton to the Duke of Alva, to request from him troops and money, offering to go to Flanders as soon as she could effect her escape. The Duke of Alva replied that he would be ready to land twenty thousand men in England, and place them at the command of Mary, provided he could rely upon the concurrence of some of the nobility of the country, and on condition that the Queen of Scotland would engage to contract no marriage without the consent of Philip II, and, further, to place the Prince of Scotland in his hands.*

Meanwhile Mary continued to demand from Elizabeth the support which she had led her to expect, and to complain bitterly of the cruel treatment of which she was the victim.

26th January.—Mary leaves Bolton for Tutbury.

27th January.—She rests at Ripon, where Robert Melvil came to her, on the part of Murray, to assure her of his penitence, and of his anxious desire to cooperate in the marriage which was in contemplation between her and the Duke of Norfolk.

28th January.—The Queen of Scotland continues her journey, and rests at Pontefract.

30th January.—Mary arrived at Rotherham, where she was obliged to leave one of her attendants, Lady Livingston, who had fallen sick on the journey.

1st February.—The Queen of Scotland was so unwell on her way from Rotherham to Chesterfield,

* See *Correspondance de Fénélon*, tom. ii. p 214, et seq.

where she was to pass the night, that she could not reach that place, and was obliged to stop by the way, in a house belonging to Mr. Foljambe.

3rd February.—She at last arrives at Tutbury castle.

7th February.—The Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries return from London, and present to Mary the official record* of the conferences which had been held at York, Westminster, and Hampton Court, and which contained a transcript of the most important documents produced in the name of the Queen of Scotland at the different conferences. Her majesty, after examining the record, gives, on 9th February, a warrant of approval to her commissioners.

13th March.—Battle of Jarnac, in which the Prince of Condé fell.

In April, Mary is removed to Wingfield, in the county of Derby, where she remains for about five months.

25th May.—The Bishop of Ross presents a memorial to Elizabeth, in which he demands that this princess shall reinstate Mary on the throne of Scotland, or permit her to go to France, to beg assistance from the king, her brother-in-law, and the other Christian princes.

The Queen of England replied, that in the first place it was necessary that her cousin should give her certain proofs that she had not ceded to the Duke of Anjou her rights to the throne of England, as the report went.

Mary then sent to the French court Borthwick,

---

* This record is now in the British Museum, London. MS. Cotton, Titus CXII. fol. 111.

her equerry, and Raulet, her secretary, to procure the necessary documents for her justification.

In June, Norfolk, Sussex, Arundel, Pembroke, Lumley, and even Leicester, write to Mary on the subject of the marriage proposed between her and the Duke of Norfolk. She gives her consent to it, on condition that they shall procure the annulment of her marriage with Bothwell.

About this time, the Earl of Shrewsbury having been taken ill, Sir Francis Knollys remained for some weeks with the Queen of Scotland.

About this time also were renewed, between the Duke of Alva and Mary, the negotiations of the marriage which they wished her to contract with Don John of Austria. John Hamilton, Lord Seaton, and Raulet, made frequent visits to Flanders concerning it. It appears, however, that the Scottish Queen never seriously contemplated that marriage, and that she only sought thereby to procure the support of Philip II, in order to regain her liberty.

2nd July.—George Douglas, who had arrived in London with letters from Charles IX and Catherine de Medicis, obtained permission to visit Mary.

8th July.—He sets out for Flanders, charged with a mission from Mary to the Duke of Alva.

17th August.—Mary sends to Elizabeth the affirmations which she had received from the King of France and the Duke of Anjou, by which these princes certified that neither she, nor any person in her name, had ever ceded to them her rights to the crown of England.*

* See these two documents in the *Correspondance de Fénélon*, tom. i. p. 431, et seq.

1569

28th August.—The majority of the lords of Elizabeth's privy-council decide, at the instigation of the Duke of Norfolk, that Mary should be set at liberty, provided she would consent to marry one of the great nobles of the kingdom.†

12th September.—Elizabeth sharply upbraids the Duke of Norfolk for having presumed, without her knowledge or consent, to form the design of marrying Mary, and forbids him most strictly to think of it for the future.

14th September.—The Duke of Alva requests from Elizabeth a safe-conduct for Ciapino Vitelli, Marquis of Chetona (one of the principal commanders of the Spanish army), appointed by Philip II to negociate regarding the differences which had arisen between Spain and England.

21st September.—Mary is removed from Wingfield to Tutbury, and the Earl of Huntingdon is associated with the Earl of Shrewsbury in the charge of her person.

23rd September.—The Duke of Norfolk quits the court without apprising Elizabeth or her ministers, and retires into Norfolk.

3rd October.—The victory of Moncontour is gained by the Duke of Anjou over the Protestants.

5th October.—The Abbot of Dunfermline, who had come to London on the part of Murray, conveys to Elizabeth evidence of the schemes that were on foot in favour of Mary. The queen immediately causes the Duke of Norfolk to be cited before the council, and the

---

* See *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tom. vii. p. 341. Madrid, 1832, 4to.

Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, Lord Lumley, and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, to be arrested at Windsor. The Duke of Norfolk, relying upon the assurances of Cecil, who had induced him to submit to the orders of Elizabeth, speedily returns to London, in spite of the urgent dissuasions of his friends, and the French ambassador.

11th October.—He is committed to the Tower of London.

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Cecil, having been charged by Elizabeth with the conduct of the prosecution, they begin by examining the Bishop of Ross and the Duke of Norfolk. The latter replied that they themselves knew very well that the idea of his marriage with the Queen of Scotland, originated neither with her nor with him, but that it had been suggested to them both by the most distinguished lords of the council, and of the kingdom of England.*

13th October.—Robert Ridolfi,† resident of

---

* See *Correspondance de Fénélon*, tom. ii. p. 270, et seq.

† Robert Ridolfi, a kinsman of the Medicis, and master of the Florentine Company at London, enjoyed great favour at the court of Elizabeth; he was nevertheless the secret agent of Pope Pius IV, and the nuncios residing in France and the Low Countries had orders to confer with him in every thing concerning the Catholics of England. Ridolfi was also in frequent communication with the Bishop of Ross, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Lumley; but his underhand dealings were not discovered until the close of the investigation occasioned by the prosecution of the Duke of Norfolk. See *Correspondance de Fénélon*, tom. iv. p. 244.

1569

Cosmo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and who was suspected of having dealings with the adherents of the Scottish Queen, is also arrested, and confined in Walsingham's house.

22nd October.—Ciapino Vitelli, sent by the Duke of Alva on the part of Philip II, arrives in London. He is only permitted to have five attendants; the rest of his suite, consisting of fifty or sixty men, are obliged to remain at Dover.

14th November.—Beginning of the insurrection of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland.* They had occupied Durham, and were to march immediately to Tutbury, to deliver the Queen of Scotland; but, on the first report of these disturbances, she had been removed to Coventry, and separated from a portion of her household.

The ministers of Elizabeth immediately sent troops to the different places threatened by the rebels, and succeeded in preventing the rising of a great part of the Catholics. At the same time, wishing to discourage them completely, they solicited the queen to put Mary to death. Elizabeth did not dare to give an order for it; but she made overtures to Murray to deliver her to him, on condition that he would come and conduct her to Hull, thence to take her by sea to Scotland.

Ridolfi having had time, before his arrest, to deposit his private papers with the Spanish ambassador, they could not bring sufficient proofs against him; and as, moreover, he enjoyed at London, where he

---

* See, on this subject, the curious volume of Sir Cuthbert Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569, 8vo. London, 1840.

had resided for many years, a great reputation, he was set at liberty on the 24th November.

The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, after being disappointed in their attempt to set Mary at liberty, had endeavoured to take the city of York; but the Earl of Sussex having already come to the defence of this important place, they were compelled to abandon this attempt also. They succeeded only in taking Barnard castle, and the small port of Hartlepool. The two earls attached great importance to this latter, wishing by means of it to open communications with Flanders, whence they looked for support.

But the Duke of Alva, in spite of all the assurances which he had given them by Don Gueraldo d'Espès,* made no demonstration in their favour, and even refused to send them a supply of money.

The insurgents, finding their expectations so deceived, and learning that Admiral Clinton and the Earl of Warwick were advancing, with a force of twelve thousand men, began to lose courage, and withdrew to Hexham.

16th December.—All the rebel forces were by this time entirely routed, and hotly pursued by the queen's troops. The insurgents made for the northern borders in all haste, and their principal leaders fled into Scotland, among others the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland.

* The Earl of Northumberland always carried about his person the letters of the Spanish ambassador, in which he urged him to take up arms, and promised him, on the part of the Duke of Alva, one hundred thousand crowns, and important assistance in men and munitions. See *Correspondance de Fénélon*, tom. ii. p. 422, et seq.

1570

The insurrection of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland once suppressed, the Earl of Sussex resolved to inflict exemplary punishment on the rebels. Martial law was proclaimed, and many of these unhappy persons were put to death under the most frightful punishments. Three hundred were executed in the county of Durham alone, and thousands were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Queen Elizabeth also demanded that those who had taken refuge in Scotland should be delivered up; but the Lairds of Buccleuch and Fernihurst, as also the noble heads of the clans Hume, Scot, Carr, Maxwell, and Johnstone, with whom the greater part of the English exiles found an asylum, soon placed them out of danger, by procuring them the means of escape to Flanders. The Earl of Northumberland alone did not escape; he was given up to Murray, who imprisoned him in Loch Leven castle.

During the time of these disturbances, Mary remained at Coventry, under ward of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon. Being unable to obtain any reply from Elizabeth, she frequently wrote to Cecil. She managed also to establish a correspondence with the Duke of Norfolk.

1570.—2nd January.—Mary is removed from Coventry to Tutbury.

22nd January.—Murray is assassinated at Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. The Earl of Lennox succeeds him in the regency of Scotland.

10th February.—Elizabeth, having learned the death of Murray, causes the Bishop of Ross to be arrested, and consigned to the charge of the Bishop of London.

25th February.—Pope Pius V signs a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, who is thereby declared guilty of heresy, stripped of her rights to the crown of England, and her English subjects are absolved from their oath of allegiance. He sends several copies of this bull to the Duke of Alva, who immediately forwards some to Don Gueraldo d'Espès, the Spanish ambassador at London.

15th May.—A copy of the bull of excommunication, fulminated by Pope Pius V against Queen Elizabeth, is found posted on the door of the Bishop of London.

19th May.—La Mothe Fénélon procures from Queen Elizabeth that the Bishop of Ross shall be allowed to confer with the privy council, in order to settle the basis upon which the negotiations relating to the affairs of the Queen of Scotland may be revived.

25th May.—The Bishop of Ross is set at full liberty, and treated anew as ambassador from the Queen of Scotland.

At the end of May, the Earl of Huntingdon was recalled, and the Queen of Scotland removed from Tutbury to Chatsworth. This mansion, situated in Derbyshire, belonged to the Countess of Shrewsbury, in right of her second husband, Sir William Cavendish.

Shortly after, the Bishop of Ross obtained permission to visit Mary. It appears that it was then that this princess conceived the idea of sending to Rome, to solicit from the pope a brief for declaring the nullity of her marriage with Bothwell.

4th July.—M. de Poigny arrives in London, on the part of Charles IX, to negotiate about setting

at liberty the Queen of Scots. He obtains two audiences of Elizabeth, but is unable to come to any settlement, and is not even permitted to go into Scotland.

19th July.—M. de Poigny at length obtains permission to visit Mary at Chatsworth. He remained some days with her, then returned to London, and soon after departed for France.

4th August.—The Duke of Norfolk is released from the Tower, to remain in ward in private houses. Ridolfi immediately puts himself in communication with him and Lord Lumley.

8th August.—The peace of St. Germain, between Charles IX and the heads of the Protestant party.

The same day, Felton, a Catholic gentleman, convicted of having circulated copies of the Pope's bull against Elizabeth, is executed at London.

11th August.—Walsingham is sent as ambassador from England to France.

1st October.—Elizabeth, yielding to the remonstrances of La Mothe Fénélon, sends Cecil, Mildmay, and the Bishop of Ross, to Chatsworth, to discuss the conditions on which a reconciliation may be effected between the two queens.

The conferences between the envoys of Elizabeth and the Bishop of Ross, lasted nearly three weeks, but without being brought to any positive result. They were then adjourned until the arrival of the deputies from Scotland.

20th October.—La Mothe Fénélon pertinaciously insists, in the name of Charles IX, that Mary shall be set at liberty. Elizabeth then declares that she pledges her word to the King of France, to send her

back to such of her subjects as still adhere to her party in Scotland, whatever the result of the negotiations may be.

In the course of October, died at Chatsworth, J. Beaton, laird of Creich, master of the household to Mary, and brother of the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in France. He was interred in the church of Edensor, near the mansion.

24th October.—Cecil and Mildmay return to Windsor.

It was then that the Earl of Shrewsbury detected the plot laid by the two sons of the Earl of Derby and J. Hall, to effect the escape of Mary by one of the windows of Chatsworth house.

28th November.—Mary was removed to Sheffield castle, belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury. In this place she remained longer than in any other during her tedious captivity in England. She resided in the castle fourteen years; but, during that time, made frequent visits to Chatsworth, and sometimes to the baths of Buxton, and to Worksop.*

Mary was then in very delicate health, and soon fell dangerously ill. The Bishop of Ross, hearing of it, obtained permission to go to Sheffield with two of the first physicians of London, who attended her until her recovery.

---

* In the first edition of this Chronological Summary, published in 1839, I mentioned *Hardwick* among the residences occupied by Mary Stuart; but it is now proved that she was never there, and it is probably from the old mansion of Chatsworth that all those articles have been brought, which are shown as relics of Mary in the magnificent Hall of Hardwick now belonging to the Duke of Devonshire.

1571

In spite of her many sufferings, this unfortunate princess always maintained the same activity in her correspondence. Seeing, especially, that the last conferences had produced no change in her sad condition, and that all the promises of Elizabeth remained unperformed, she renewed her entreaties to the Catholic powers, and vehemently besought the Duke of Alva for that assistance which he had so often promised on the part of the King of Spain.

23rd December.—The Bishop of Galloway and Lord Livingstone, deputed by the nobles who still adhered to Mary, arrive from Scotland, to participate in the negotiations then pending as to the treaty of alliance proposed between her and Queen Elizabeth.

29th December.—The Bishops of Ross and Galloway, and Lord Livingstone, set out for London, provided with letters of credence and instructions from Mary to treat with the commissioners of the Queen of England upon the proposals which had been made by Cecil and Mildmay while at Chatsworth, in the preceding month of October. Meanwhile, the Queen of Scotland, who had little reliance on the result of all these negotiations, recommended the Archbishop of Glasgow to redouble his efforts to assure her of support from France.

1571.—At the beginning of February, the Queen of Scotland learned that the Pope and the King of Spain had at length placed considerable sums at the disposal of Ridolfi and the Duke of Alva, to assist in defraying the expense of the expedition projected in her behalf, and that it only depended on the arrival of Ridolfi to complete the final arrangements. She then sent a memorial to the Bishop of Ross, relative

to the mission of Ridolfi to the Duke of Alva, the Pope, and the King of Spain. This memorial, transmitted by her orders to the Duke of Norfolk, was afterwards found among the papers of this nobleman concealed in his house.

25th February.—Sir William Cecil, first secretary to Queen Elizabeth, is created Lord Burleigh.

About this time were opened the first negotiations relative to the projected marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, who afterwards became Henry III, King of France.

At this time also the Earl of Lennox, yielding to the suggestions of Queen Elizabeth, sent Thomas Buchanan to Denmark, to demand that Bothwell should be delivered up. The king, Frederick II, who then reigned, refused, under different pretexts, to consent to this.*

20th March.—Queen Elizabeth sends Sir Henry Cobham to the King of Spain, to demand the delivery of Stukely, who had taken refuge in his dominions.

At the same time the Duke of Norfolk writes to Philip II that he is resolved to put himself at the head of the nobility of England and Scotland, for the restoration of the Catholic religion in these two kingdoms.†

24th March.—Ridolfi leaves London for Brussels, bearing letters of credence and instructions from

---

* See the volume printed in 1829 for the Bannatyne Club, entitled *Les Affaires du Comte de Boduel,* Appendix, p. xlvii. et seq.

† See *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia,* tom. vii. p. 357.

Mary and the Duke of Norfolk to the Duke of Alva, the Pope, and the King of Spain. Some days before his departure, he had a last interview with the Duke of Norfolk, to whom he was privately introduced by Barker, the Duke's secretary.

2nd April.—The Earl of Lennox takes the Castle of Dumbarton, which still held out for the Queen of Scotland, and hangs the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had shut himself up there. Many papers of importance were found at Dumbarton, and sent to London; among others, a memorial by Claude Hamilton of his negotiations with the Duke of Alva, relative to the expedition then preparing in Flanders for the assistance of Mary and the English Catholics. Burleigh, thus put upon the scent of what was designed, takes from that time the most diligent steps to discover the conspirators, and begins by causing all communications with the continent to be intercepted.

It was precisely at this conjuncture that Charles Baillie, one of the secretaries of the Bishop of Ross, was arrested at Dover. He was returning from Flanders, where he had been to superintend the printing of a work written by the Bishop of Ross in defence of the Queen of Scotland;* and as he was in Brussels at the same time as Ridolfi, he had assisted him in deciphering his despatches, and was charged with the conveyance of them to London. They were all seized at Dover, and deposited in the cabinet of Lord Cobham, lord warden of the Cinque Ports. But

---

* *A Treatise concerning the Defence of the Honour of Marie, Queene of Scotland*, etc. 8vo. Liege, 1571.

the Bishop of Ross, who had spies in that quarter, soon heard of it, and contrived to exchange them for papers of no importance.

In the meanwhile Baillie was sent to London, and imprisoned in the Marshalsea. He had then the imprudence to write to the Bishop of Ross, and the latter to reply to him through the medium of a prisoner named William Herle; this person was one of Burleigh's spies, and he communicated to that minister all their correspondence. Burleigh was then soon aware that the Bishop of Ross was in possession of letters from Ridolfi. Aroused by this discovery, he employed every means to induce Baillie to divulge the contents of the letters which had been entrusted to him. But being unable to obtain any disclosure from him, he committed him to the Tower.

Mary, watched with the utmost strictness, was entirely ignorant of all that was passing in London, and continued to write as usual. Most of her letters were intercepted, and fell into the hands of her enemies; some, however, reached the parties to whom they were addressed.

1st May.—Baillie was racked, and confessed that while at Brussels he had assisted Ridolfi to decipher two despatches, one addressed to the Queen of Scotland, and the other to the Spanish ambassador,* and

---

* The two despatches of Ridolfi seized upon Baillie at Dover were intended for the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Lumley; but as the directions were only indicated by the numerals 40 and 30, Baillie, in the middle of his sufferings, had still the courage not to aggravate the position of these two noblemen, and invariably maintained that these two despatches were for Mary and the Spanish ambassador.

that they contained assurances that the Duke of Alva approved of the design of invading the English coast,* but that he still was waiting for the orders of Philip II and the Pope to put it into execution. Baillie was also forced to confirm by his evidence what was already known,—that the despatches were in the hands of the Bishop of Ross.

The Council of Elizabeth immediately instituted a vigorous search in the residence of that prelate; and though they found there nothing of a suspicious character, he was arrested, and committed to the charge of the Bishop of Ely.

13th May.—The Earl of Sussex, Lord Burleigh, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Walter Mildmay, subjected the Bishop of Ross to an examination, and accused him sharply with having conspired against the peace of the state. But the bishop maintained that his communications with the Duke of Alva had only for their object the obtaining of supplies of men and money for the adherents of Mary in Scotland; that in so acting for his sovereign's interest, he had not violated his duties as ambassador, and could not therefore lose the privileges pertaining to his office. In spite of all his protests, he was sent to prison.

Meanwhile Ridolfi, who had left Brussels nearly about the same time as Baillie, had gone to Rome.

---

* Yet some days after the departure of Ridolfi, the Duke of Alva wrote to the King of Spain, to deter him from all participation in the proposed enterprise, and even endeavoured to infuse into his mind suspicions of the fidelity of Ridolfi. Besides, the Duke had always pushed the adherents of Mary to extreme measures, only to abandon them at the immediate moment of execution, as he had done during the insurrection of 1569.

Pope Pius V having looked into the powers and instructions of which he was the bearer, received him in the most favourable manner, and gave him letters for Philip II, in which he specially recommended to that prince the object of his mission. Don Juan de Zuniga, the Spanish ambassador at the Holy See, with equal alacrity wrote to his master in the most flattering terms of Ridolfi.

20t June.—La Mothe Fénélon endeavoured to intercede with Elizabeth in favour of the Bishop of Ross, on the part of Charles IX; but the queen expressed her astonishment that any prince calling himself her ally could interest himself for a man who had sought to introduce foreign troops into her kingdom, and to excite against her a part of her subjects.

2nd July.—Chesein, coming from France with stores and money, lands at Leith, and falls into the hands of the Scotch rebels, who had captured that port some days previously.

3rd July.—Ridolfi, arrived at Madrid, sent to the King of Spain the letters and credentials with which he had been charged by the Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk.* But Philip II, prejudiced against Ridolfi by the Duke of Alva (who had always shown himself opposed to the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with Mary), hesitated a long time before he came to a decision regarding the assistance which was demanded from him. After having deliberated several times with his council, he ended by declaring that, at that time, he could only contribute twelve

* See *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tom. vii. p. 360 et seq.

thousand crowns on behalf of Mary, and that for the rest he left it to the prudence of the Duke of Alva.

14th August.—M. Paul de Foix comes to London, charged with a mission relative to the marriage of the Duke of Anjou with Queen Elizabeth. Some days before his arrival, the Bishop of Ross had been removed to Ely, a city about sixty miles from the capital.

At the end of August, La Mothe Fénélon had sent to Lord Herries, by means of the Duke of Norfolk, two thousand crowns to assist the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, which still held out for the Queen of Scotland. One of the people employed to convey this money delivered it to Burleigh, with the letters which accompanied it.

The Privy Council considered this as high-treason. They arrested Higford and Barker, secretaries to the Duke of Norfolk, and Banister, his comptroller; and complained bitterly of the conduct of La Mothe Fénélon in this matter.

2nd September.—M. Paul de Foix leaves London on his return to France.

3rd September.—Some of the leaders of Mary's party in Scotland, Huntly, Claude Hamilton, and Scot of Buccleuch, surprise Stirling, and seize on more than fifty of the Lords assembled for the holding of a Parliament. The Regent, Earl of Lennox, who was found among the prisoners, is immediately executed, in reprisal for the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, whom he had caused to be hanged at the capture of Dumbarton.

On the news of this sudden blow, the Earl of Marr hastily musters a sufficient force, goes to Stirling, puts to flight the assailants, and delivers the prisoners.

6th September.—He is declared Regent of Scotland.

Meanwhile, Burleigh and his colleagues pursued rigorously their enquiries into the last plot. Higford, Barker, and Banister, being put to the rack, soon divulged what they knew of their master's intentions, and Higford even pointed out the place where the secret correspondence of the Duke of Norfolk with Mary and the Bishop of Ross was concealed.

The Privy Council immediately ordered the arrest of the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, of Lord Cobham and his brother Sir Thomas Cobham, of Sir Henry Percy, of Sir Thomas Stanley, of the sons of the Earl of Derby, and of many other persons compromised by the confession of the Duke of Norfolk's servants.

7th September.—The Duke of Norfolk is again sent to the Tower, and preparations are made to bring him to trial.

The Earl of Shrewsbury was at the same time recommended to redouble his vigilance over Mary, and to reduce still further the number of persons attached to her service.

17th October.—The crown counsel, consulted by the ministers of Elizabeth, declare that an ambassador convicted of having taken part in a conspiracy against the state, or against the sovereign to whom he is accredited, loses all right to the immunities and privileges attached to his office, and that the Bishop of Ross has placed himself in that position.

19th October.—That prelate is removed from Ely to London, and confined in the Mansion House.

24th October.—The opinion of the crown counsel is notified to him, and he is imprisoned in the Tower.

26th October.—Lord Clinton, Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Thomas Smith, examine the Bishop of Ross. The latter began by haughtily insisting on the inviolability due to his character of ambassador; but Burleigh having threatened him with the rack, the Bishop unreservedly admitted all that had been projected in favour of the queen his mistress, and his deposition completed the charge against the Duke of Norfolk.

At the time of the arrest of the Duke of Norfolk's servants, La Mothe Fénélon was suspected of having had knowledge of all the intrigues of Ridolfi, and the most stringent measures were taken to prevent his corresponding with Mary. He afterwards justified himself to Elizabeth, and began to treat again with her and her ministers on the matters entrusted to him: nevertheless he was still denied permission to write to Mary.

He also endeavoured to intercede in favour of this unfortunate princess, in the name of the king, but was unsuccessful: and at length, on the 14th November, the Privy Council formally announced to him that Queen Elizabeth was convinced that she could not live a single hour in peace, if Mary were restored to the Scottish throne; and that in consequence she was resolved never to set her at liberty.

1571.—The disclosures made by the Bishop of Ross, on his last examination after his committal to the Tower of London, had revealed to Burleigh,* and

---

* On that occasion, Burleigh wrote to one of his friends that

other members of the privy council, all the details of Ridolfi's mission, the real designs of the Duke of Norfolk, and the plans proposed to be adopted by Pope Pius V and the King of Spain, for re-establishing the Catholic religion in England, and the liberation of the Queen of Scots. The ministers of Elizabeth then no longer dissembled with Mary; they loaded her with reproaches and menaces, and treated her with the utmost severity. For a long time she was confined to two apartments in Sheffield castle, debarred from the society even of the members of her household, and attended only by a few of her female domestics. She endeavoured, nevertheless, to correspond by a secret conveyance with La Mothe Fénélon; but the greater part of the letters which she addressed to him fell into the hands of her jailers.

28th November.—The commission intrusted with the prosecution of the Duke of Norfolk, declare that there are grounds for bringing him to trial for high-treason.

10th December.—La Mothe Fénélon, in the name of the king of France, demands from Elizabeth the suppression of Buchanan's* libel against Queen Mary, which had been translated into English and published at London; but he could obtain no satisfaction. Elizabeth pretended that this libel had been printed in Scotland.

"he was very well pleased with the style of the Bishop of Ross's answers, and that they cleared up everything."

* "Ane detectioun of the doingis of Marie Quene of Scottis, twiching the murther of hir husband, etc. Translatit out of the Latine, quhilk was written be M. G. B. Sanctandrois, be Robert Leckprevik," small 8vo. 1572.

1572

14th December.—The Spanish ambassador, Don Gueraldo d'Espès, compromised by the declarations of the Bishop of Ross, receives orders instantly to quit England.

22nd December.—The Earl of Shrewsbury, as Earl-Marshal of England, is appointed to preside over the court of peers assembled for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk.

28th December.—Sir Ralph Sadler is sent to Sheffield to guard the Scottish Queen during the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

1572.—The trial of the Duke of Norfolk commenced on the 14th January. The duke defended himself with much moderation and firmness; but the evidence of his correspondence with the Pope and the King of Spain, as well as the depositions of his secretaries, and, above all, those of the Bishop of Ross, which were brought against him, rendered his acquittal impossible. Wherefore, on the 16th January, he was condemned to die. But Elizabeth hesitated a long time, before she permitted the sentence to be carried into execution.

About the same time, all the projects of marriage of this princess with the Duke of Anjou were entirely abandoned; but the negotiations relating to a treaty of alliance between France and England, were nevertheless prosecuted with much activity.

In the beginning of February, Elizabeth sent to Mary a memorial reciting all her complaints against her.

In the month of March, Lord Seaton, ambassador from Mary to the Duke of Alva, on his voyage from Flanders to Scotland, was wrecked on the coast of

Suffolk. He contrived to get ashore; but all his papers were seized in the ship, which could not be got off in time. In these were found fresh indications of the expedition projected against England, and of the sums of money, arms, and stores, with which the Duke of Alva had supplied Lord Seaton, for the service of the Scottish Queen.

29th April.—Walsingham and Thomas Smith, ambassadors from Elizabeth, sign at Blois the treaty of alliance between France and England.

28th May.—The English parliament, instigated by the enemies of the Duke of Norfolk and Queen Mary, resolve to address the queen, praying, 1st. That she will order the execution of Mary; 2ndly. That whoever shall support the claims of this princess to the crown of England, shall be declared a traitor; and 3rdly. That the sentence pronounced on the Duke of Norfolk may be carried into effect. Elizabeth refused to grant the prayer of the two first articles, but gave her assent to the third; and consequently, on the 2nd June, the Duke of Norfolk was executed at London.

7th June.—The Earl of Northumberland, who had remained prisoner at Lochleven ever since the insurrection of 1569, was conducted to Eyemouth,* and delivered to Lord Hunsdon, who caused him to be removed secretly to Berwick.

9th June.—Jane d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, died at Paris. It was reported that she had been poisoned.

* They had assured the Earl of Northumberland that he was to be embarked for Flanders; and he had no suspicion, knowing that his wife was already there, and that she had arranged the price of his ransom with the Earl of Morton.

11th June.—Lord William Delawarr, Sir Ralph Sadler, Thomas Wilson, and Thomas Bromley, solicitor-general, are sent to Sheffield, to examine the Queen of Scotland upon various circumstances relating to the events which had happened.

16th June.—The commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, attended by the Earl of Shrewsbury, present Mary with a memorial, containing thirteen articles of accusation against her.

17th June.—The Queen of Scotland, after giving such explanations as are compatible with her dignity, delivers to the commissioners of Elizabeth a protest against all jurisdiction over her, which the Queen of England would wish to arrogate to herself.

26th and 27th June.—Messrs. de Montmorency and Paul de Foix, who were then on an extraordinary mission to London, to treat of the marriage of the Duke d'Alençon with Queen Elizabeth, agree with the English ministers on various articles concerning Mary; but, instead of bettering her situation, they seem in some sort but to sanction her unjust confinement.*

About this time, Lord Burleigh is appointed High Treasurer of England, in room of the Marquis of Winchester, deceased.

11th July.—Queen Elizabeth commands Lord Hunsdon to carry the Earl of Northumberland to York, and there cause him to be put to death. Lord Hunsdon refuses to obey this order.†

---

* See *Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, by Le Laboureur, vol. i. p. 563, edition of 1731.

† See, in the *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569, by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, p. 331, the letter which Lord Hunsdon wrote upon this subject to Lord Burleigh.

17th August.—Lord Hunsdon, in conformity to new orders, which he had received from Queen Elizabeth, transfers the Earl of Northumberland to Sir John Forster, who conducts him to York.

18th August.—The marriage of Henry, King of Navarre, with Margaret of France, sister of Charles IX, is solemnized at Paris.

22nd August.—The Earl of Northumberland is executed at York. A few moments before receiving the fatal blow, he called the multitude assembled to witness that he was steadfast to, and died in, the Catholic religion.*

The same day, at Paris, Admiral Coligny is wounded by a shot from a musket, fired at him from the window of a house opposite the Louvre. The assassin made his escape, and could not be arrested.†

On hearing of this attempt, Charles IX manifests the strongest indignation, and swears to execute exemplary vengeance. He went himself to visit the admiral, accompanied by his mother, his two brothers, and the principal officers of his court.

24th August.—The infamous and horrible massacre of Saint Bartholomew is perpetrated at Paris. Coligny, assassinated under the eye, and by the direction, of

* I found at Florence, among the archives of the Médicis, an account of the death of the Earl of Northumberland, sent at the time to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by one of his residents in England. In it is to be found the speech, and even the prayers, uttered by the Earl at this solemn moment.

† He was Maurevel, a gentleman in the service of the Duke of Guise, and who had been hired for the purpose by Catherine of Médicis, in concert with the Duke of Anjou and the Duchess of Nemours.

the Duke of Guise, was the first victim of this dreadful night.*

The scenes of murder at Paris, extended from the 24th to the 26th August. More than four thousand persons lost their lives there.

At the first, Charles IX, alarmed by the atrocity of the outrage, wished to cast all the obloquy upon the Guises, and it was with this view that he wrote, on 24th August, to La Mothe Fénélon, at London; but on the morrow he sent to him, in all haste, an order to keep silence as to the contents of the dispatch which he had addressed to him on the previous evening, and to wait for fresh instructions on the subject.†

26th August.—Charles IX goes to the parliament

---

* The common opinion, that this massacre was the result of a long premeditated conspiracy, was always adopted by the generality of historians. Yet, in our times, some writers of great merit, among others Dr. Lingard, have opposed the belief with considerable power. The learned author of the *History of England* contends that this bloody catastrophe arose unexpectedly out of the then excited state of religious and political parties in France, and that the design was not conceived until the eve of St. Bartholomew, after the wound received by the Admiral.

For my own part, it appears to me that "the idea of getting rid of the Huguenots was familiar to the populace" (as M. Capefigue says, in his *History of the Reformation*), but that it was still more so to Catherine of Médicis, and the heads of the Catholic party in France, and that the attempt to assassinate the Admiral was not the cause of the St. Bartholomew massacre, but the *means* chosen to provoke the Protestants to some act of revenge, so as to justify the slaughters which would be the unavoidable result. I believe moreover that if the despatch of Salviati, of 24th August 1572, were carefully examined, proofs in support of my opinion would be found therein.

† See the letters from the king, of 24th and 25th August, in the *Correspondance de Fénélon*, vol. vii. pp. 323 and 325.

to hold a court of justice, and he declares that all the executions which had taken place on the preceding days, had been done by his orders, to frustrate a conspiracy formed against him by the admiral and his adherents.

The same day, he sends to La Mothe Fénélon an exculpatory account of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and charges him to assure the Queen of England, "that what has occurred, is not a matter of religious difference, or breach of the treaty of peace: but that it arose from an unfortunate conspiracy, which they (the Protestants) had raised up against him."*

27th August.—Henry, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, compelled to renounce the new faith, write to Pope Gregory XIII that they have returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

28th August.—An extraordinary jubilee was celebrated at Paris: and there was a general procession, at which the king and his whole court assisted. Medals, struck in commemoration of the affair of St. Bartholomew, were then distributed among the people.†

30th August.—The news of the massacres at Paris reached London. The excitement produced in England, by the recital of the bloody scenes which then contaminated the soil of France, afforded to Burleigh and Leicester a pretence for again pressing the execution of Mary. They alleged that her existence was incompatible with the safety of the

* See *Correspondance de Fénélon*, vol. vii. p. 330.

† Two of these medals are engraved in the *Trésor de Numismatique*, series of French medals, plate xix. nos. 3, 4, and 5.

state. The Bishop of London made similar representations. But Elizabeth, in spite of her strong desire to get rid of Mary, did not yet dare to embrue her hands in the blood of her nearest relative.

Nevertheless, on 7th September, she sends Killigrew to Scotland, under the pretext of deliberating upon the means of restoring peace in that kingdom, and gives him secret instructions to propose the delivery of the Queen of Scots to her rebellious subjects;* but on condition, 1st. That they shall make a demand to that effect; 2ndly. That Mary shall be put to death as soon as she arrives in Scotland; and 3rdly. That the name of Elizabeth shall not appear in this negotiation.

9th September.—La Mothe Fénélon had, at Oxford, his first audience of Elizabeth since the arrival of the news of the Saint Bartholomew massacre. He tried to justify the conduct of the king, by the necessity which compelled him to act as he had done; but Elizabeth expressed her great regret and astonishment that the admiral and the Protestants should have been so cruelly punished, without the intervention of the law.†

In September, Killigrew, on his arrival in Scotland, found the Earl of Morton ready to second him in the inglorious mission on which he had been sent by Elizabeth. But the regent, the Earl of Marr, did not seem so well disposed; he entertained the overtures of Killigrew very coolly.

* The instructions were given to Killegrew, *vivâ voce*, by Elizabeth herself, in presence of Leicester and Burleigh, who alone were entrusted with the correspondence on this subject. See the details in *History of Scotland*, by P. F. Tytler, vol. vii. pp. 378-95.

† See *Correspondance de Fénélon*, vol. v. p. 120, et seq.

Nevertheless, on 9th October, Killigrew wrote to Leicester and Burleigh that the regent was no longer very averse to the idea of consenting to the proposals which had been made to him, and that the only question with him was, how they should proceed in bringing about the death of Mary.

26th October.—The regent and the Earl of Morton send to Killigrew, by the Abbot of Dunfermline, the terms upon which they consent to take upon themselves the charge of ridding Queen Elizabeth of her unfortunate rival.*

28th October.—The Earl of Marr died at Stirling. He was taken suddenly ill in returning from Dalkeith, where he had been on a visit to the Earl of Morton. It was alleged that he had been poisoned. From that moment, all Killigrew's negotiations relating to Mary were abandoned.†

---

* The terms proposed were: 1st, that the Queen of England should take the young King of Scotland under her special protection; 2ndly, that the English Parliament should declare that any sentence pronounced against Mary should not prejudice the claims of her son; 3rdly, that a defensive league should be entered into between England and Scotland; 4thly, that the Earls of Huntingdon, Bedford, or Essex, should come to Scotland with three thousand English troops, to assist at the execution of Mary; 5thly, that these troops should thereafter be employed in aiding those of the young king to reduce the Castle of Edinburgh, and deliver it into the hands of the Regent; 6thly, that Elizabeth should pay the Scottish troops all arrears due to them.

† It appears that, during the five months subsequent to the affair of St. Bartholomew, Mary was deprived of all external communication; for we know of no letters from her during that period, and, in those which follow, we do not perceive that at that time she had the least suspicion of the imminent danger which she had just escaped.

29th October.—The parliament of Paris publishes an act, by which it declares Admiral Coligny convicted of high treason, in having conspired against the king and the state, and condemns him to be drawn upon a hurdle, and hanged in effigy, if his body cannot be found.

At the beginning of November, the Earl of Morton, strongly supported by Killigrew and the partisans of Elizabeth, is appointed Regent of Scotland.

1573.—In January, Killigrew, having received fresh instructions from Burleigh, had succeeded in prevailing upon Morton to consent that the young Prince of Scotland should be sent to Elizabeth; and he prepared for his delivery accordingly. But La Mothe Fénélon, who was aware of this intrigue, gave warning of it to the most influential Scottish lords; and they all, to whatever party they belonged, swore to die, sooner than permit their young sovereign to be carried out of the country.

6th March.—M. de Chateauneuf, sent from the Duke d'Alençon to Elizabeth, with letters relating to the projected marriage, arrived in London.

14th March.—Claude de Lorraine, Duke of Aumale, is killed by a cannon-ball, at the battle of La Rochelle.

14th April.—Elizabeth, perceiving that the siege of La Rochelle, and the continuance of the civil war in other parts of France, would not for a long time permit Charles IX effectively to assist the adherents of Mary in Scotland, informs the French ambassador that she has permitted her subjects to go to the aid of the young King of Scotland, her nephew, in

reducing the castle of Edinburgh,—the only place which still held out for Mary.

In spite of all La Mothe Fénélon's protests on this point, Sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, lands at Leith with the English troops, on the 25th April, and lays siege to the castle of Edinburgh, defended by Kirkaldy of Grange, Hume, and Lethington.

9th May.—Henry, Duke of Anjou, is elected King of Poland, after the death of Sigismund II.

10th May.—Walsingham returns from France, where he was succeeded in his capacity of ambassador by Dr. Valentine Dale.

It was in the course of this month that Mary occupied, for the first time, the manor of Sheffield, while the castle was undergoing repair.*

25th May.—M. du Verger, president of Tours, and chancellor to Mary, is sent from France on business connected with her jointure.

29th May.—Edinburgh castle surrenders to the English, after a siege of twenty-four days. The lives of the garrison were spared, with the exception of Kirkaldy of Grange, Lethington, former secretary of state, and seven more of the principal leaders, who, obliged to surrender at discretion, were kept close prisoners, to abide the pleasure of Elizabeth. In a few days, Lethington was found dead, poisoned in his prison; and soon thereafter, Sir William Drury, in obedience to the orders of Elizabeth, delivered up the other prisoners to Morton.

---

* Sheffield Manor, or Sheffield Lodge, was situate a mile and a half from the Castle: its ruins are still to be seen. They show there a window called Queen Mary's Window, because it is said that she attempted to escape through it.

9th June.—M. du Verger arrives at Sheffield with Vassal, master of the household to La Mothe Fénélon, and remains there some time.

24th June.—La Rochelle capitulates.

6th July.—Confirmation of the peace concluded in France with the Protestants.

1st August.—Mary went for several weeks to Chatsworth.

3rd August.—Kirkaldy of Grange is hanged at Edinburgh, by orders of the regent Morton.

About this time, the Queen of Scots obtained leave to go to the baths at Buxton, where she remained till the middle of September, and then returned to Chatsworth.

At the beginning of November, she was taken back to the castle of Sheffield.

In December, the Bishop of Ross obtained from Mary permission to resign his office of ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, and soon afterwards he was set at liberty, and retired into France.

1574.—At the beginning of April, the conspiracy of La Molle and Coconas is discovered; and the Duke d'Alençon, and Henry, King of Navarre, accused of a desire to rejoin the malcontents of La Rochelle, are arrested. On hearing this, the Protestants again take up arms.

4th May.—The Marshals Montmorency and Cossé, who were known to be intimately connected with the Duke d'Alençon, are arrested, and confined in the Bastille.

30th May.—Charles IX dies at Vincennes. His brother Henry III, King of Poland, is proclaimed King of France, and the parliament confers the

regency upon Catherine of Médicis, in the absence of the new sovereign.

18th June.—Henry III, having learned the death of his brother, clandestinely leaves Cracow, where he then was, and sets out for France, by Austria and the north of Italy.

30th August.—Raulet, Mary's secretary, dies at Sheffield. The Earl of Shrewsbury seizes upon his papers, among which he finds several letters from the Pope, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Spanish ambassador.

6th September.—Henry III, on his return from Poland, arrives at Lyons, attended by the Duke of Savoy. He finds in this city his brother, the Duke d'Alençon, and the King of Navarre, whom Catherine of Médicis had sent there prisoners, and immediately sets them at liberty.

14th September.—Death of Margaret of France, Duchess of Savoy, wife of Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and sister of Henry II.

At the beginning of October, Marshal de Damville retires to Montpelier, and declares for the Protestants.

In the same month, Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, and brother of Darnley, marries Elizabeth Cavendish, youngest daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury and Sir William Cavendish, of Chatsworth, her second husband. Queen Elizabeth, learning this some time after, throws the dowager Countess of Lennox and the Countess of Shrewsbury into prison, for having brought about this alliance without her knowledge.

26th December.—The Cardinal of Lorraine dies at Avignon, where he was staying with the King of France.

1575.—22nd January.—Death of the Duke of Chatelherault. His eldest son, the Earl of Arran, being insane, Lord John Hamilton, Commendator of Arbroath, became the representative of that illustrious and powerful family. After Mary and her son, the commendator was nearest heir to the crown of Scotland.

13th February.—Henry III is crowned at Rheims, and two days after marries Louisa de Vaudemont, of the house of Lorraine.

25th February.—Claude of France, Duchess of Lorraine, dies at Nancy.

26th March.—M. de La Châtre, ambassador extraordinary from Henry III, arrives in London, to renew and confirm the last treaty of alliance entered into between Elizabeth and Charles IX.

27th March.—Requescens, governor of the Low Countries, yielding to the representations of persons sent by Elizabeth, suppresses the Catholic college established at Douai for English and Scottish refugees. William Allen (formerly principal of St. Mary's, Oxford), who had founded it, soon after obtained authority to reestablish the college at Rheims, under the patronage of the princes of the house of Guise.

29th March.—Elizabeth permits Nau, who had come from France to be secretary to Mary, to go to his mistress.

In April, Marshals Montmorency and Cossé are liberated from the Bastille, and Henry III pronounces them innocent.

In June and July, Mary resided at the baths of Buxton. She there met with Burleigh, at which Elizabeth took great umbrage.

9th July.—Elizabeth went to Kenilworth castle, the seat of the Earl of Leicester, and spent twelve days there, entertained with the greatest magnificence.

10th September.—M. Castelnau de Mauvissière succeeded M. de La Mothe Fénélon as ambassador from France to England. It was then that Vassal, the master of the household to La Mothe Fénélon, obtained permission to convey to Mary the letters from the King and Queen of France, which Mauvissière had been commissioned to send to her.

15th September.—The Duke d'Alençon, having again taken part in a plot against his brother Henry III, and fearing that he should be again arrested, quits the court, and puts himself at the head of the Protestants.

22nd November.—By the exertions of Catherine of Médicis, a truce of six months is arranged between the two parties in France.

1576.—3rd February.—The King of Navarre escapes from the court, and, having arrived at Saumur, a place which was then in the hands of the Protestants, declares "that the profession which he had made of the Catholic religion since the day of St. Bartholomew, proceeded solely from the violence then exhibited towards him, and that he returned to the religion of his mother."

In February, M. de La Mothe Fénélon accompanies M. de La Porte to England, and remains for some time in London, on pretence of negociating the marriage of the Duke d'Alençon with Queen Elizabeth.

At the beginning of March, the Duke d'Alençon goes to Vichy, to join the Prince of Condé, who had come from Germany with his army.

In the early part of the same month, Don Louis de Requescens, governor of the Low Countries, dies at Brussels. Philip II appointed Don John of Austria as his successor.

In April, the Earl of Bothwell dies at Malmœ, where he was kept prisoner by the King of Denmark. It was at that time rumoured that he had left a will, in which he acquitted the Queen of Scotland of all participation in the murder of Darnley.*

9th May.—A treaty of peace granted to the Protestants of France, by which entire liberty of conscience is secured to them: at the same time the Duke d'Alençon is reconciled to the court, and his brother, Henry III, permits him to take the title of Duke of Anjou.

It was then that the Catholics of France first thought of forming a confederacy against the Protestants, under the pretext of defending the Catholic religion against the attacks of its enemies. This mighty association, since so renowned by the name of *The League*, was directed from the beginning by the Duke of Guise and his brothers.

In September, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, dies at Dublin; Leicester was suspected of having poisoned him for the sake of marrying his widow.

6th December.—Henry III makes overtures to the

---

* See in Keith, Appendix, p. 141, what Mary writes on this subject to the Archbishop of Glasgow; and p. 144, the declaration by Bothwell. This declaration was printed from a French translation then preserved in the Scotch College at Paris (*Mem. Scot.* tom. ix. fol. 145.) It is not known what has become of this document; but two English translations of it still exist in the British Museum at London, MSS. Cotton. Caligula, D. II. fol. 519; and Titus, C. VII. fol. 39[b].

States-General at Blois. This assembly, composed entirely of Catholics, begins by attacking the privileges granted to the Protestants, and sanctions The League, under the title of "The Holy Union." Henry III knowing that the Duke of Guise was at the head of this association, and that it daily became more alarming, declares himself its leader.

In December, Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, brother of Darnley, dies.

1577.—1st January.—Henry III announces to the States-General that, taking into consideration the request which they had laid before him, he revokes all the privileges conceded to the Protestants. On hearing of this decision, the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé resume hostilities.

4th January.—The Archbishop of Glasgow writes from Paris to Mary* that Barclay of Gartley, on his arrival at Edinburgh last December, had been arrested and put in prison, by orders of Morton, for having divulged what he had heard said in London concerning the transmission of this deed to Queen Elizabeth.†

---

* See Keith, Appendix, p. 142.

† We have previously mentioned a confession made by Bothwell on his death-bed, tending to vindicate Mary from all participation in the murder of Darnley; unhappily the original of this no longer exists, and the translations, or rather extracts from it, which we possess, are so vague and indefinite that they do not supply elements sufficient to establish its authenticity. Nevertheless, it is certain that in 1581, at the time of Morton's trial, a *Testament of Bothwell* was among the papers put in as evidence. Sir John Forster, who then commanded the Northern Marches, says so positively, in the letter which he wrote to Walsingham of 4th June 1581, announcing the execution of Morton. The original of this letter is still in the British Museum at London. (MSS. Harl. No. 6999, art. 97.)

Still it must be seen whether the deed spoken of by Sir John Fors-

2nd May.—The Duke of Anjou, commanding the king's army, captured the city of La Charité-sur-Loire; and soon after, the Marshal de Damville, who then acted in concert with the Duke, took from the Protestants many other strongholds, and besieged Montpellier.

At the end of May, Mary was taken to the baths at Buxton. Leicester went there likewise, and staid with the Earl of Shrewsbury,* which gave great umbrage to Burleigh.

11th July.—The Queen of Scots returned to Sheffield.

17th September.—A new peace was entered into with the Protestants in France, at Bergerac.

5th October.—This was ratified at Poitiers by Henry III, and followed by a sixth proclamation of peace.

---

ter is the same with that which is referred to, or with the two exculpatory memoirs of Bothwell, printed in 1829 by Messrs. Maitland and Cockburn for the Bannatyne Club of Edinburgh, from a MS. in the library of Drottningholm in Sweden, under the title of *Les Affaires du Comte de Boduel.* It appears to me that the identity of the testament mentioned by Sir John Forster with these latter pieces must be admitted; for I have evidence to show that at the time of the condemnation of Morton these two memoirs were known in Scotland, having recovered a cotemporary copy among the papers of the embassy of Baron d'Esnaval, in 1585. This copy, much more accurate than that of the library of Drottningholm, appears to have been made from the original itself, as the following note at the end seems clearly to indicate: "The said Earl has himself written the marginal annotations." I intend shortly to give a new edition of this important document.

* See in Lodge, vol. ii. p. 154, the letter written by Elizabeth, 25th June 1577, to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, expressive of her thanks for all the marked attentions which they had paid to Leicester.

1577.—The fears which Burleigh and Walsingham entertained of a project of marriage between Don John of Austria and Mary were not without foundation: as for some time that prince had been concerting matters regarding it with Pope Gregory XIII, through the medium of Escovedo. His Holiness had already obtained a pledge from Philip II that he would supply money to defray the expense of an expedition intended to make a descent upon Ireland, and that Don John should be secretly authorized to attempt at the same time the invasion of England, in order to rescue the Queen of Scots, and by that means secure the restoration of the Catholic religion throughout Great Britain.

This enterprise promised to be successful, but it was never carried into effect, on account of the difficulties which one after another beset the different sovereigns who were to have embarked in it: meanwhile, however, Elizabeth was informed of all that was devised against her,* and she instantly adopted new measures of severity against the Catholics of her kingdom, so as entirely to deprive them of the exercise of their religion.

1578.—At the beginning of January, the nuncio,

---

* A courier from Don John, passing through France to Spain, fell into the hands of a party of Protestant troops, and his despatches were sent to the King of Navarre. This prince found among them a confidential letter addressed to Philip II by Don John, in which he mentioned that he had hopes of soon reducing the Netherlands, and that then would be the favourable opportunity for attempting an expedition against England. This letter was sent to the Prince of Orange, who immediately communicated it to Elizabeth.

Philip Sega, arrived in Flanders, provided with a sum of fifty thousand crowns, which the Pope had set apart for the projected expedition against England. But the nuncio, on his arrival, found all Flanders in arms, and was obliged to use the money which he had brought with him to assist Don John against his enemies. Shortly afterwards, this prince was joined by a division of the Spanish army, under the command of Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, and he soon assumed the offensive against the forces of the States.

21st January.—Don John gives them battle, and achieves a decisive victory at Gemblours.

14th February.—The Duke of Anjou secretly leaves Paris and retires to Angers, on account of the annoyances which he had experienced at the court of Henry III on the subject of Bussy d'Amboise, his favourite.

Meanwhile, Mary continued to solicit the support of the Pope and the princes her kinsmen, in her endeavours to remove her son from the influence of Elizabeth, by placing him in France or Spain. On their part, a great number of Scottish peers, of the highest consideration in the kingdom, were seeking means to overthrow the Earl of Morton, who was daily becoming more detestable, as well for his rapacity as for his blind devotion to England.

4th March.—The Earls of Argyll and Atholl, who were the ringleaders of the plot, take advantage of the absence of the regent, then at Dalkeith, to introduce themselves, well escorted, into Stirling Castle. Admitted to the presence of James VI, they easily succeed in making him jealous of the power and the

intentions of Morton, and obtain instant orders to assemble all the nobility.

The convocation was soon thereafter held at Stirling, and it was resolved that Morton should be called upon to resign the Regency, and that the young king (then only in his thirteenth year) should assume the reins of government.

Morton perceiving himself deserted, at this juncture, by many even of those who had long adhered to his party, made no attempt at resistance: he publicly surrendered to the king all the authority with which he was invested in his capacity of Regent of Scotland.

10th March.—Margaret, Countess of Lennox, mother-in-law of Queen Mary, dies at Hackney, near London. She was interred in Westminster Abbey.*

2nd April.—Mary Isabella of France, only daughter of Charles IX and Elizabeth of Austria, dies at Paris, aged five years.

The satisfaction which Mary experienced in seeing her son in the hands of the lords of her own party, was not of long duration. On 26th April, the young Earl of Marr, yielding to the persuasion of Morton, takes by surprise the Castle of Stirling, then commanded by his uncle, Alexander Erskine, and by this means makes himself master of the person of James VI. The Earls of Argyll and Atholl, taken unawares, found themselves constrained to seek for an arrange-

* Some historians have assigned the death of the Countess of Lennox to the year 1577, in consequence of the inscription on her tomb; but in England, at that time, the year began on the 25th March, which occasions a difference in the calculation not taken into account by them.

ment with Marr and Morton, and negotiations were entered upon on this subject at Edinburgh.

About this time the States-General of the Netherlands declared the Duke of Anjou protector of their provinces: this prince accepted the title which had been offered to him by the States, and immediately hastened to raise large levies of troops in his territory, in order to go to their assistance.

9th May.—Morton, who had maintained adherents in Stirling Castle, unexpectedly enters it, seizes the young king, and reestablishes himself in the supreme authority.

10th May.—The Dukes of Lorraine and of Guise, with all their kinsfolk, quit the court of Henry III, openly assigning as a reason for so doing the complaints which they preferred against the king's favourites.

9th July.—The Duke of Anjou arrives at Mons, and concludes a treaty with the States-General, whereby he binds himself to bring to their assistance twelve thousand men; and soon after he returns to France, to put himself at the head of his troops, which were mustering near the frontiers of Flanders.

In the course of July, Mary went to spend some time at Chatsworth.

23rd July.—M. de Rambouillet is sent by Henry III to Elizabeth, in order to sound her sentiments in favour of the Duke of Anjou, who thought of asking her in marriage.

25th July.—The Scottish parliament meets in Stirling Castle, in spite of the protests of a great number of its members, and confirms several acts in favour of Morton.

The Earls of Argyll and Atholl, and their partizans, fly to arms, declaring that they seek to deliver James VI from the confinement in which he is kept by Morton. The Earl of Angus, Morton's nephew, collects five thousand men on his side, and marches to meet them. But all these warlike demonstrations terminate in an accommodation arranged between the two factions by Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador.

2nd August.—Margaret, Queen of Navarre, leaves the Castle of Olinville, in which she was residing with her brother, Henry III, to rejoin her husband. She was accompanied by Catherine of Médicis, the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the Duke of Montpensier, who, under the pretence of doing her honour, took advantage of this opportunity to endeavour anew to treat with the King of Navarre.

In September, the Duke of Anjou enters Hainault with an army of ten thousand men.

1st October.—Don John of Austria dies in his tent before Namur, after a severe sickness. He is succeeded by the Prince of Parma in the command of the Spanish troops then in Flanders.

5th October.—Mary leaves Chatsworth for Sheffield Manor.

20th October.—Simier, one of the principal officers of the Duke of Anjou, is sent from Paris to London with letters of recommendation from Henry III to Elizabeth, on the subject of the proposed marriage between her and the duke his brother.

1579.—1st January.—Henry III institutes the order of the Holy Ghost, and on the same day makes twenty-six knights.

9th January.—The union of the northern provinces of the Netherlands is concluded at Utrecht, under the auspices of the Prince of Orange.

25th January.—The Duke of Anjou having been unable to agree with the Prince of Orange, and still less with Prince Casimir, who commanded the German forces, leaves Flanders, and retires to Alençon.

20th February.—Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the seals of England, dies.

Meanwhile, Catherine of Médicis had profited by her interview with the King of Navarre, to enter into new negotiations, which were opened at Nérac, where a convention was drawn up and adopted.

14th March.—The articles of conference at Nérac were confirmed by letters-patent from the King of France.

25th April.—The Earl of Atholl, one of the most faithful adherents of Queen Mary, dies at Kincardine, on his return from a banquet given by Morton on the preceding evening at Stirling.

Morton, who had long contemplated the ruin of the Hamiltons, issues, on the 2nd May, a proclamation in the name of James VI, by which Lord Arbroath and Lord Claude Hamilton are declared traitors to the state, and indicted.

4th May.—He marches with the Earl of Angus against the Castle of Hamilton, captures it, and puts to death the governor, Arthur Hamilton of Merton, as also another Hamilton, brother of Bothwellhaugh, the assassin of Murray.

A few days after, Morton likewise captures the Castle of Draffin, and makes prisoners the Duchess of Chatelherault, and her unfortunate son the Earl of

Arran. But Lord Arbroath and Lord Claude Hamilton contrived to escape: the one took refuge in Flanders, and the other in England.

6th May.—The Marshal of Montmorency dies in his Castle of Ecouen; his brother, Marshal Damville, from that time took the title of Duke of Montmorency.

8th June.—Mary, by permission of Elizabeth, sends Nau, her secretary, to Scotland: he was the bearer of presents and letters for the Prince of Scotland. But the superscriptions not bearing the title of King, Nau, on his arrival at Stirling, could not obtain an audience of James VI, and was soon obliged to return to England.

3rd July.—The Duke of Anjou leaves Paris for Boulogne-sur-Mer; he remains a long time in this town, waiting for the letters of safe conduct which he had asked from Queen Elizabeth, to enable him to go into England.

At the beginning of September, Esme Stuart, Count D'Aubigny, arrives at the court of James VI; he was a near kinsman of the young king,* who received him with much distinction, and soon bestowed upon him all his favour.

About this time, Mary began to interest herself in

---

* Count D'Aubigny was son of John Stuart, brother of the Regent Earl of Lennox, and had been educated in France in the Catholic religion. The Duke of Guise, whose secret emissary he was, had charged him to ascertain the sentiments of the young Prince of Scotland towards his mother, and to plan with the enemies of Morton the consummation of the ruin of that nobleman. The communications of D'Aubigny with the relatives of Mary were kept so secret, that for a long time this princess was entirely ignorant that he was one of her most devoted partizans, and at first she was distrustful of him.

the fortunes of young Arabella Stuart, Darnley's niece. She concerted with the Countess of Shrewsbury, to recover the diamonds and trinkets which Margaret, Countess of Lennox, had bequeathed by her will to her grand-daughter.

At the end of September, the Duke of Anjou, having set out from Boulogne-sur-Mer secretly, arrived at Greenwich *incognito.* Queen Elizabeth received him with the greatest magnificence. He only remained a few days in England; yet he had reason to believe that he had pleased the queen, and returned in hopes that the marriage would be concluded.

2nd October.—He departs from Greenwich, and leaves Simier to continue the negotiations with Elizabeth's ministers.

10th November. — Sentence of forfeiture pronounced by the Scottish parliament against Lord Arbroath and Lord Claude Hamilton.

1580.—In the meanwhile, the princes of the house of Guise obtained a promise from Henry III that he would send into England a person of quality to negotiate in favour of the Queen of Scots. Informed of this resolution, Mary hastened to lay before her relations in France a draught of instructions, for the guidance of the ambassador in the mission he was about to fulfil.

5th March.—Esme Stuart is created Earl of Lennox by James VI, who at the same time grants to him the extensive estates which had belonged to this illustrious family.

In the beginning of April, a report was spread that on the 10th of that month, Lennox and his party in-

tended to seize James VI at Stirling, conduct him to Dumbarton, and thence to France ; so every precaution was taken to counteract this project.*

Mary, perceiving that her plans in respect to her son were partially discovered, abandoned for the time all attempts of the kind, and restricted herself to a renewal of her solicitations to the Queen and Council of England that she might be set at liberty. But, shortly thereafter, she ordered the Archbishop of Glasgow to resume his negotiations with the ambassador of Philip II in France, to devise means for carrying off the Scottish prince, and taking him to Flanders or Spain.

Walsingham, having been apprised by his spies that the servants of the Earl of Shrewsbury were often employed by Mary to correspond privily with her friends on the continent, causes Jailheur to be arrested on the 4th May, on his return from France, with a ship belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury. But, notwithstanding the most vigilant search, nothing suspicious was found.

Queen Elizabeth, hearing that Parsons and Campian, both Jesuits of the English college at Rome, as well as several other Catholic missionaries, had been sent into her kingdom, causes, on the 15th July, a proclamation to be issued against them, threatening them with the severest penalties. Great rewards were promised to such as should discover them, and it was declared, that whoever in England gave them shelter, should be punished as guilty of high treason.

---

* See Tytler, vol. viii. p. 63 et seq.

28th July.—Mary arrives at the baths at Buxton, where she remains three weeks, and then returns to Sheffield.

At the beginning of September, the Prince of Orange persuades the States-General to shake off entirely the yoke of the Spaniards, and to elect the Duke of Anjou for their sovereign. Soon after, ambassadors were sent to negotiate on this subject with the duke.

29th September.—The Duke of Anjou signs, at the castle of Plessis-les-Tours, a treaty with the ambassadors of the States-General, and accepts the sovereignty of the Netherlands.

At the same time, Mary applied in France to all whose influence she thought could be of any service, to endeavour to obtain compensation for the wrongs which she daily sustained on the subject of her jointure, of which a large portion had been taken from her.

26th November.—The King of Navarre concludes at Fleix, near St. Foi, a new treaty of peace with Henry III, which was ratified on the 26th December. The Prince of Condé, after having opposed the negotiations with all his power, would not accede to the treaty, and hostilities were soon renewed in Dauphiny, between the Protestants and the royal forces, commanded by the Duke of Mayenne.

31st December.—Morton is arrested at Stirling, by command of James VI, on the accusation of James Stuart (son of Lord Ochiltree), who charged him with having participated in the murder of Darnley, and he was straightway conveyed to Dumbarton.

1581.—In January, Mary, believing the time favourable for realizing the plan, so long projected, of removing her son to France, nominates, on the 5th

of the month, the Duke of Guise Lieutenant-General of the kingdom of Scotland, with power to treat with the young prince, who she hopes will consent to leave the kingdom.

16th January.—Elizabeth, who for some time had been distrustful of the Earl of Shrewsbury, signs a warrant to transfer Mary to the castle of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, in Leicestershire, to be under the care of Sir Henry Nevil and Sir William Pelham. But Lord Burleigh soon succeeded in pacifying the queen's anger against the Earl of Shrewsbury, and obtained the recall of this warrant.

Mary was very unwell at this time, and it appears that she knew nothing of what was meditated against her.

In April, the Prince Dauphin,* the Duke of Bouillon, the Marshal de Cossé, La Mothe Fénélon, and others, were sent to London to treat officially upon the marriage of the Duke of Anjou with the Queen of England. On the 24th of April, they had their first audience.

1st June.—Morton is condemned to die, and executed the day following at Edinburgh, in spite of all the solicitations and even threats of Queen Elizabeth, who had commanded Sir Robert Bowes and Randolph to use every means with James VI and his ministers, to prevent the sentence from being carried into effect. Archibald Douglas, compromised by the disclosures of Morton, took refuge in England, and thence passed into France.

11th June.—The English and French commis-

---

* The son of the Duke of Montpensier, dauphin of Auvergne.

sioners sign at London a contract of marriage in the name of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou. But they are obliged to insert in it, by order of the queen, certain secret reservations, whereby she had the power of eluding the clause which rendered the celebration of the marriage obligatory at a certain fixed time.

At the beginning of July, Mary came to Chatsworth.

17th July.—Campian, who had for a long time evaded every search, is at last arrested at Lyfford, in Berkshire, and soon after conveyed to the Tower of London. Parsons, however, remained some time in England, and then passed over to the continent.

27th July.—The Prince of Orange causes the States-General to issue a proclamation, by which Philip II is declared to be deprived of the principality of the Netherlands, and the Duke of Anjou acknowledged as sovereign.

5th August.—Esme d'Aubigny, Earl of Lennox, is created by James VI Duke of Lennox, Earl of Darnley, Lord Tarbolton and Dalkeith.

18th August.—The Duke of Anjou enters Cambray with a division of his army, and is received there with the highest honours.

23rd August.—The title of Earl of Gowrie is conferred by James VI on Lord William Ruthven.

Meanwhile the partisans of the Scottish queen, who for some time had remained inactive owing to the severe measures adopted against them in England, began, after Morton's execution, to resume courage. They placed, especially, great reliance on the good will of the Duke of Lennox towards the

Catholics. About this time, also, Parsons, who was in France, sent to Edinburgh, Waytes, an English ecclesiastic, to ascertain the real position of matters. James VI and Lennox received this messenger very favourably, and even assured him that they would lend their aid to every plan which might be formed for restoring Mary to liberty, if the Catholic potentates resolved to come to her relief.

It was then that Elizabeth, perceiving that her influence was almost entirely destroyed at the court of Holyrood since the fall of Morton, and fearing new conspiracies among the Catholics in England, ordered her council to deliberate upon the time for bringing Mary to trial.

The council assemble upon the 10th of September, and separate at the end of three days, without having been able to come to any conclusion,—the hesitation of Elizabeth paralyzing every measure proposed by her councillors, for assuring her own peace, and that of her kingdom.

24th September.—The Duke of Joyeuse, favourite of Henry III, marries at Paris Margaret of Vaudemont, of the house of Lorraine, and sister of Queen Louisa of France.

In October, Queen Elizabeth lends large sums of money to the Duke of Anjou, to assist his expedition in Flanders.*

28th October.—James VI confirms, by letters-patent, the title of Earl of Arran, and the possession

* The bonds of the Duke of Anjou, dated 13th and 23rd October 1581, are preserved in the British Museum, MS. Cotton, Galba, E. VI. fol. 113 and 114.

1582

of all the estates of the family of Hamilton, to James Stuart.

In November, the Duke of Anjou again visits London, where he meets with a most favourable reception from Elizabeth.

19th November.—She subscribes a promise of marriage to him, but the ceremony is again postponed for several months.

About this time, the ministers of Elizabeth, having obtained some information respecting the designs of Parsons and his correspondents in Scotland, sent to Sheffield Beale, the clerk of the council and brother-in-law of Walsingham, under pretence of treating with Mary about her liberation. But, in reality, his errand was to discover what expectations she had from the side of Scotland.

1st December.—The Catholic priests, Campian, Sherwin, and Briant, are executed at London, as guilty of having conspired against the Queen, the State, and the Church of England.

17th December.—Queen Elizabeth again advances thirty thousand pounds sterling to the Duke of Anjou, towards defraying his undertaking in Flanders.*

1582.—21st January.—The young Countess of Lennox, widow of Charles Earl of Lennox, dies at Sheffield, leaving an only daughter, aged four years, called Arabella Stuart.†

8th February.—The Duke of Anjou leaves Green-

---

* The receipt given by the duke for this additional sum is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, F. VI. fol. 401.

† This cousin-german of James VI became celebrated by her misfortunes, under the name of Arabella Seymour.

wich to return to Flanders. Elizabeth, with great part of her court, escorts him as far as Canterbury.

The duke embarks in an English ship of war, and sets sail, accompanied by Lord Howard, the Earl of Leicester, Lord Hunsdon, and many other English noblemen.

17th February.—He arrives at Antwerp, where, after a splendid reception, he is proclaimed Duke of Brabant.

18th March.—The Prince of Orange is wounded at Antwerp by Sauregui, who, at the instigation of some fanatical priests, had attempted to assassinate him.

In the meantime, Parsons had sent into Scotland the Jesuit Creighton, to learn positively what were the intentions of the Duke of Lennox on the subject of the intended attempts in favour of Mary. At the same time, M. Paul, a favourite equerry of the Duke of Guise, arrived at the court of James VI.*

In May, Creighton, having rejoined Parsons in Flanders, assures him of the good disposition of James VI, and the most influential nobles of his court,

---

* In conformity with the desire expressed by Mary, this gentleman had been entrusted with a secret mission to James VI, under the pretext of taking him a present of horses from the Duke of Guise. The same gentleman had, in 1572, been sent to Rome by the duke to announce to the Cardinal of Lorraine, then resident there, the first intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and carry thither at the same time the head of Admiral Coligny. A letter from Mandelot to Charles IX, dated from Lyons, 5th September 1572, leaves us no doubt of the conveyance of this *fleshy despatch*, as it has been so appropriately designated by the illustrious author of the *Genius of Christianity*, in his *Historical Studies*, vol. iv. p. 293, edition of 1833. See also the memoir of Francis Mandelot, by A. Péricaud, Lyons, 1828, 8vo.

towards Mary and the Catholics; but at the same time, above all things, he insists upon the necessity of a mutual understanding as to the relative position of the young Scottish Prince with his mother.

Both go to Paris immediately, and agree with the Duke of Guise, Castelli the papal nuncio, and Taxis the Spanish ambassador, that Mary and James should henceforward be joint occupants of the throne of Scotland.

In June, they obtain the consent of Mary and the Scottish cabinet; and the King of Spain and the Pope then promise to assist them, in the execution of their design, by large contributions.

15th June.—Mary again goes to the baths at Buxton.

In July, she returns to Sheffield.

22nd August.—The Earls of Gowry and Marr, and Lord Lindsay, leaders of the English faction in Scotland, seize King James in Ruthven castle, and carry him to Stirling. The Earl of Arran, arrested by the Earl of Gowrie, was retained captive; but the Duke of Lennox contrived to escape to Dumbarton.

At the end of the same month, Du Ruisseau again obtained leave to go to the Scottish Queen.

5th October.—The reformation of the calendar is adopted in France; and, in conformity with the bull of Gregory XIII, the 5th becomes the 15th October.*

* This reform of the calendar not having been adopted in England and Scotland till 1752, all the documents contained in this collection were dated after the Old Style. We have thought fit to retain these dates; but it is necessary to observe that, in order to make them tally with those of the New Calendar, ten days must be added to them.

In November, between seven and eight thousand French soldiers, commanded by the Duke of Montpensier (father-in-law of the Prince of Orange), and by Marshal Biron, arrive in Flanders, to support the Duke of Anjou.

In December, Henry III sends MM. de la Mothe Fénélon and De Maigneville to Scotland, to assist the young king in recovering his liberty.

15th December.—Elizabeth orders Davison to accompany M. de la Mothe Fénélon, and accredits him to James VI, that he may assist Sir Robert Bowes, her ambassador in Scotland, in counterpoising the influence of France.

At the end of December, the Duke of Lennox was obliged to leave Scotland. He directed his course to London, bearing letters, secretly conveyed to him by James VI, in which he was warmly recommended to Queen Elizabeth.

1583.—The duke arrived in London in the beginning of January; but he could not immediately obtain the audience which he requested, for presenting his letters to the queen.

At length, on the 14th of the month, Elizabeth consents to receive him; and, in spite of all her prepossessions against him, she concludes by treating him kindly. A few days thereafter, the Duke of Lennox set out for France.

17th January.—Antoinette of Bourbon, Duchess-dowager of Guise, and grandmother of Mary, dies at Joinville.

The Duke of Anjou, who for a considerable time had entertained the plan of seizing upon the best places of Flanders by a single blow, had ordered the

commanders of the French troops to make themselves masters of the different towns in which they were quartered ; and he had appointed the 17th January for the execution of this plan. The plot was successful at Dunkirk, at Bergues, and some other towns ; but failed in many, especially at Antwerp. The Duke of Anjou in person strove in vain to expel the forces of the States-General from this important city. The burgesses came to their assistance ; and, in a few hours, the French lost nearly fifteen hundred men. The duke was compelled to retire precipitately to Berchem, and thence to Düffel.

20th January.—La Mothe Fénélon, who had been indefatigable in his exertions to bring about a reconciliation between the principal Scottish nobles, so as to afford James VI the means of throwing off the yoke of the Gowrie faction, and recover his liberty, declares in the name of Mary,* that she consents that the title of king shall be given to her son, and that he shall be associated with her on the throne of Scotland.

La Mothe Fénélon remains a few weeks longer at Edinburgh, and then departs for London, leaving M. de Maigneville in Scotland, to watch over the interests of France.

20th February.—La Mothe Fénélon arrives in London.

At the end of February, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Robert Beale, with whom Sir Walter Mildmay was soon after associated, are directed by Elizabeth to open negotiations with Mary in her name.

---

* An official copy of this declaration is preserved in the State Paper Office at London, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xii.

15th April.—Father Holt, a Jesuit, who had come from Flanders, having been arrested at Leith, Elizabeth gives instant orders to Sir Robert Bowes to insist that he shall be put to the torture, in order to extort from him the secret of the correspondence and plans of the Catholics in England.

24th April.—M. de Maigneville embarks at Leith, to rejoin the Duke of Lennox in France, in the view of arranging with him and the adherents of Mary, the final measures to be adopted for overthrowing the faction of Gowrie, and restoring the young King of Scotland to liberty.

9th May.—An embassy from the lords of the Gowrie faction arrives at London. It was composed of Colonel Stuart, Mr. John Colville, and Dr. Lindsay; and these deputies were received with much kindness by Elizabeth, who promised to lend her aid to the maintenance of their party in power.

26th May.—Esme D'Aubigny, Duke of Lennox, dies at Paris, after a protracted illness.

25th June.—Colonel Stuart and his colleagues return to Scotland.

27th June.—James VI, who had called together a meeting of his nobles at St. Andrews, suddenly occupies the castle with the troops on whom he could rely, and shuts himself up there, with the Earls of Crawford, Huntly, Argyll, and Marischal, and defends it from all the adherents of Gowrie, Marr, and Angus, and resumes the exercise of the regal authority.

Next day, James VI issued a general pardon in favour of all those who formerly had dared to attack his liberty. The result of this was, that the majority

of the guilty parties, headed by the Earl of Gowrie himself, immediately submitted.

About this time, the Duke of Anjou left Flanders for France, committing to Marshal Biron the command of the French troops which still remained in the territory of the States-General.

In August, James VI having recalled the Earl of Arran, this old favourite soon regained the influence he had formerly enjoyed at court, and began to prosecute several of the nobility who had contributed to his fall. At his instigation, James banished the Earl of Angus, and several other lords of his party, treated with general severity the adherents of Elizabeth, and surrounded himself with the nobility most devoted to Mary.

The Queen of England, seeing her influence destroyed, sent Walsingham to endeavour to sustain in Scotland the feeble remains of her party.

1st September.—Walsingham arrived at the court of Holyrood, where he was recived very coldly.

Meanwhile, the partizans of Mary in France,—among others Charles Paget and Morgan,—were actively engaged in a new project for her deliverance, which was not confined to effecting her escape, but also proposed that the Duke of Guise was to land with an army in the south of England, while James VI was to enter by the north with the Scottish forces.

About this time, Mary went to Worksop, a seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, situated near Sherwood forest, in Nottinghamshire.

22nd October.—While James VI was at Falkland, there was an attempt made to carry him off; but the Earl of Arran, suspecting what was in agitation,

detected the design, which completely failed, and was named "The Bye Course."

16th November.—The young son of the late Duke of Lennox arrives from France, in Scotland, where he is received by James VI with the greatest kindness, and reinstated in all his family possessions.

24th November.—Arden, a Warwickshire gentleman, John Somerville, his son-in-law, their wives and sisters, are, with Hall, a Catholic priest, brought to trial on a charge of a pretended conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth.

7th December.—James VI, having intelligence of fresh plots hatched by the adherents of the Earls of Angus and Marr, causes parliament to declare that all those who had taken a part in the Raid of Ruthven were guilty of high treason. Upon this, most of them made their submission and solicited pardon, with the exception of John Colville, who fled to Berwick.

20th December.—Arden is executed at London, and Somerville hangs himself in prison.

About this time, Walsingham having had some hints of the designs of Morgan and Paget, causes Sir Francis Throckmorton to be arrested, and cites before the council Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and the Earl of Arundel.

1584.—The Earls of Northumberland and Arundel contrive in some sort to acquit themselves of any share in the conspiracy lately discovered; but Sir Francis Throckmorton, being put to the torture, confessed that the Duke of Guise and Don Bernard de Mendoça, then ambassador from Spain at London, had communicated to him the plan of invasion.

Burleigh accused Mendoça of being concerned in a

conspiracy against the state, and ordered him, on the part of Elizabeth, to quit the kingdom. The ambassador immediately left London, and retired to France, there to await his sovereign's commands.

Notwithstanding all these occurrences, Mary persisted in declaring her ignorance of all that had been planned in her favour.

11th February.—The Duke of Anjou arrives at Paris, from Chateau-Thierry, and is reconciled to the king his brother, under the auspices of Catherine of Médicis.

About this time the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons, Charles and William Cavendish, began to spread the most preposterous reports about the pretended intimacy which subsisted between Mary and the Earl of Shrewsbury. Justly offended by these odious calumnies, the Queen of Scotland insisted upon M. de Mauvissière obtaining for her a signal satisfaction; threatening, if that was refused her, to inform Queen Elizabeth of all that had been said about herself by the Countess of Shrewsbury.

The Earl of Arran, having succeeded gradually in estranging from James VI the majority of the lords who composed the privy-council, was not long in resuscitating all the hatred which he had formerly excited against himself, by his avarice and arrogance. In consequence, a new conspiracy was prepared in Scotland: the Earls of Angus, Marr, and Gowrie, Lord Lindsay, and many other malcontents, pledged themselves by a bond to slay the Earl of Arran and compel the king to recall all the banished lords. John Colville, who had fled into England, was their instrument with Walsingham, and promised them, on

the part of the English minister, that they should be powerfully supported by Elizabeth.

Mary, on her part, wishing to profit by the liberty which her son enjoyed, sought to come to an arrangement with him as to their respective rights, and anxiously desired that M. de Mauvissière should be sent to Scotland to conduct this negotiation.

The Earl of Angus and his adherents had summoned to Perth, for the end of March, an assembly of such of the Scottish nobility as they believed to belong to their party, with the view to make some demonstration to intimidate the king. But the people were not excited by their attempt, and few even of the nobles appeared at this gathering.

The Earl of Arran, who had secret communications with several of the conspirators, had for a long time been prepared to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity for crushing them. As soon as he learned that they were about to act, he began by causing the Earl of Gowrie to be arrested at Dundee, on the 18th of April, and conveyed to Edinburgh Castle.

22nd April.—The Earls of Angus and Marr, and the Master of Glammis, perceiving that their plans were discovered, take arms and enter Stirling with five hundred horsemen.

But on the approach of James VI, who had rallied round him twelve thousand men, they abandoned the castle without striking a blow, and fled for refuge into England.

About this time Lord Seaton, who had formerly been sent by James VI to the French court, renewed his applications to Henry III and Catherine of Mé-

dicis, to obtain assistance in behalf of the Scottish king and his mother.

Mary was not aware of these events till at a very late period. At this time she was busied about the matters of her jointure, on the subject of which M. Marron, seneschal of Poitou, came to visit her at Sheffield. He was accompanied by M. Waad, the clerk of council, who never left him for a single instant during the short space of time that was allowed for communicating with the Queen of Scotland.

3rd May.—The Earl of Gowrie is brought to trial, and is condemned and executed on the same day.*

22nd May.—The Scottish parliament, at the instigation of the Earl of Arran, declares Angus, Marr, Glammis, and their adherents, guilty of high-treason. Soon after, the Earl of Arran is promoted to the dignity of high-chancellor of Scotland, and Lord Fleming is nominated lord-chamberlain.

2nd June.—Stafford, the ambassador in France from Queen Elizabeth, demands in the name of his mistress, the surrender of Lord Paget, Charles Paget, Charles Arundel, Thomas Throckmorton, and Thomas Morgan, accused of having conspired against the life of the Queen of England, and who were then in France. Henry III refuses formally to accede to this demand, alleging the example of the Count of Montgomery and the Vidame of Chartres, who formerly were refugees in England, and of whom the

* The correspondence of John Colville with Walsingham leaves no room for doubt as to the guilt of the Earl of Gowrie.—See Tytler, vol. viii. p. 196.

surrender had not been granted, notwithstanding the entreaties of the ambassadors of King Charles IX.

As soon as Queen Elizabeth learned the execution of the Earl of Gowrie, she despatched Davison to the King of Scotland, to endeavour to neutralize the power of the Earl of Arran, who from day to day became more dangerous to the interests of England. But Davison was compelled to wait a long time at Berwick, for a passport to enter Scotland. At last, on the 8th of June, he reached Edinburgh, and, on the 9th, received a special audience of James VI, at Falkland. The king assured him of his attachment to Queen Elizabeth, but he would not even listen to the entreaties which she had ordered her envoy to address to him, in favour of the noblemen banished in consequence of the last disturbances in Scotland, and he even insisted on procuring their surrender.

10th June.—The Duke of Anjou dies at Chateau-Thierry, whither he had retired in consequence of the fresh misunderstanding between him and the king his brother.

On the same day Sir Francis Throckmorton is executed at London, as guilty of conspiracy against the state, and in favour of Mary.

About the same time the Earl of Northumberland is again arrested, and sent to the Tower of London, on account of the correspondence formerly held by him with Throckmorton and Lord Paget.

In June, Mary returns to the baths at Buxton.

26th June.—Henry III and Catherine of Médicis give Lord Seaton his farewell audience, and he immediately sets out for Scotland. They are profuse in their promises to him, but let them remain unperformed.

4th July.—Fontenay, (brother to Nau, and clerk of the Queen of Scots' council) arrives from France, at Leith, in the character of envoy from Mary and the Duke of Guise to James VI. He remained some time at Leith before he could obtain permission to appear at court.

After some difficulty Fontenay was received at the Scottish court, but only in the character of a gentleman in the service of the king's mother. He presented his letters of credence to James VI in person, and had several private interviews with that prince. Fontenay's mission was attended by no result of importance; however, he sent to Mary letters from the young king, and a minutely detailed account of his negotiations.*

10th July.—The Prince of Orange is assassinated at Delft, by Balthazar Gérard, a Spanish emissary, who had been prompted to commit this crime by the fanatical preachings of some Jesuits of Treves. Maurice of Nassau, second son of the Prince of Orange, succeeded him in the Stadtholderate of Holland.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth had not ceased to busy herself with Scotland: perceiving that her influence was entirely ruined in that country, and that Mary's was increasing daily, she resolved to employ the utmost address of her agents to gain the Earl of Arran, then all-powerful at the court of Holyrood.

---

* See in Murdin, p. 548 et seq. the curious despatch which he at that time sent to Mary. It is there erroneously assigned to 1586; but the contents of the despatch, and especially the details therein of the residence of Davison in Scotland, evidently prove it to belong to the end of August 1584.

At the end of July Lord Hunsdon was sent to Berwick, and as soon as he arrived in that city, he proposed an interview to the Earl of Arran, on pretence of considering the means of putting an end to the disturbances which were constantly occurring on the borders. Arran accepted it, and the day and place of meeting were forthwith arranged.

The first interview was held at Foulden Kirk, near Berwick.* The Earl of Arran there displayed great magnificence, and appeared attended by a numerous suite, among whom were five members of the privy council.

The negotiations produced no ostensible result; but from this moment may be dated the friendship of Arran and Elizabeth. He took occasion of this interview at Foulden Kirk, to recommend Patrick, master of Gray,† to Lord Hunsdon, in informing him that he was designed by James VI to be resident ambassador at London.

While these things were passing in Scotland, Mary was suffering under the greatest anxiety, on account of the rumours of the recall of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was going to London.

---

* See *History of Scotland*, by P. F. Tytler, vol. viii. p. 218 et seq.

† This young gentleman, eldest son of Lord Gray, had been educated in the Catholic religion, and had resided several years at the French court. Affecting a deep devotion to Mary Stuart, he became one of the most intimate confidants of the Duke of Guise, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and other adherents to the Queen of Scots. He was subsequently, under their auspices, accredited to James VI, whose entire confidence he soon won, and was entrusted with his secret correspondence with Mary and her friends in France.

25th August.—Sir Ralph Sadler and Somers arrived at Sheffield, announcing that they were to remain there during the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had requested permission to go to court, in order to clear himself from the aspersions thrown upon him.

3rd September.—Mary bade Sheffield a last farewell. She was then taken to Wingfield.

6th September.—The Earl of Shrewsbury took leave of the Queen of Scots on his departure for London.*

In conformity with the orders of Elizabeth, Davison had in her name continued his entreaties in favour of the Scotch lords who had taken refuge in England. But the Parliament assembled at Edinburgh took no notice of his intercession, but confirmed the confiscation of all the estates which had belonged to the rebels. Davison, seeing that his presence was no longer of any use to the cause which he wished to promote, leaves Edinburgh for England on the 15th September.

In October, Creighton a Jesuit, and Abdy a Scottish priest, are taken at sea by an English cruizer, carried to London, and imprisoned in the Tower. Being tortured, they revealed the whole particulars of a new invasion projected for the deliverance of the Queen of Scots, and from that moment all negotiations with Mary were suspended.

On the first rumour of the new dangers which

---

* The Earl of Shrewsbury did not see Mary again till October 1586, when he went to her trial at Fotheringay ; and afterwards in February 1587, when he was appointed to preside at her execution.

appeared to threaten the kingdom, an association is formed in England of which the object was to prosecute with the utmost severity, not only those who should conspire against Elizabeth, but those even in whose favour such plots should be set on foot. This deed was read to Mary, and she proposed to give her adhesion to it, provided that she was furnished with a copy.

At the end of this month, Gray arrived in London as ambassador from James VI. At first he was received with great suspicion; but he opened himself so freely to Burleigh, that they soon came to an understanding, and the unfortunate Mary was again betrayed by one of those in whom she had the utmost confidence.

It seems that it was about this time that Mary, driven to extremity by the constant deceptions of which she was the victim, was determined to avenge herself on her most bitter enemies, by making those revelations with which she had long threatened them. She then wrote to Elizabeth a letter, in which she discovered to her, with the most circumstantial details, all the secrets which the indiscretion of the Countess of Shrewsbury had formerly communicated to her.*

As soon as Mary was informed of the arrival of the Master of Gray in England, she was eager to gain permission for Nau to visit London also, in order that he might negotiate in concert with James's ambassador. At the same time she renewed her entreaties to M. De Mauvissière to keep a watchful

* It is certain that the letter was written by the Scottish queen; but there is no evidence that it reached Elizabeth.

eye on the selection which Elizabeth intended to make of a new keeper.

About this time also the Archbishop of Glasgow received instructions to exercise all his influence at the French court, to engage the king and queen-mother to interpose openly in favour of Mary, in the serious circumstances in which she was then placed.

18th November.—The Archbishop of Glasgow obtained an audience of Henry III, and besought him to send some person of distinction to England, in order to give a signal proof of the interest which he took in the affairs of the Scottish queen; but the king would not accede to the request, and contented himself with recommending to M. De Mauvissière to interpose as often as he could in all matters that might be negotiated in London.

28th November.—Nau, who had been some time in London, addresses to Elizabeth's ministers a memorial, containing the articles on which were to be based the negotiations with which he was charged by the Queen of Scots.

The Earl of Shrewsbury being apprised, on his arrival at court, that fresh calumnies were again circulated regarding his intercourse with Mary, complained to Queen Elizabeth. Her majesty then ordered her privy council to summon before them the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons; and all three were obliged to declare upon oath that the rumours which had been spread as to the existence of a guilty intimacy between the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Queen of Scots were false and scandalous.*

* The draught of this affirmation is preserved in the State Paper Office at London.

In December, William Parry, a secret agent of Burleigh, and who was in correspondence with the English and Scotch Catholic refugees in Italy and France, returns to London, and maintains that the Pope had proposed to him the assassination of Queen Elizabeth, and that, by the intervention of Morgan, he had communicated on this subject with the nuncio Ragazzoni and Cardinal Como, secretary of state.

1585.—5th January.—Mary, desirous of affording a fresh proof of her regard for Elizabeth, declares herself a member of the association formed for the defence of that princess, and signs a deed, by which she binds herself to prosecute with the utmost severity every one who shall attempt the life or the authority of the Queen of England. At the same time, she sends to Scotland the instructions necessary for determining the articles of the act of association to the throne projected between her and James VI.

13th January.—Mary leaves Wingfield, stops at Derby, and next day arrives at Tutbury castle, in Staffordshire.

Whilst Mary used every exertion to gain the good graces of Elizabeth, as a means of concluding the treaty by which she was to be restored to liberty, the Master of Gray, pursuing his intrigues, strove to paralyse all the efforts of the Scottish Queen, so that he might fulfil the promise which he had made to Burleigh and Walsingham, to prevent any association between James VI and his mother. After having obtained some supplies of money for the young king, Gray soon returned to Scotland.

1st February.—Parry is arrested and brought to trial, upon the accusation of Edmond Neville (a

secret agent of Walsingham), who charged Parry with having proposed to him the assassination of Queen Elizabeth.

At the beginning of February, the deputies from the states of Flanders come to Paris, to put the Netherlands under the protection of Henry III; but that prince was himself too much occupied with the civil war which then distracted France, to think of agreeing to such a proposal.

23rd February.—The Earl of Derby arrives at the French court, commissioned by Elizabeth to invest Henry III with the Order of the Garter. Derby had also instructions to support with all his might the advances made to the king by the deputies from the Netherlands; but he could not succeed in this negotiation.

25th February.—Parry is condemned to die; he was executed a few days afterwards. On the scaffold he protested his innocence, and maintained that it was by command of Elizabeth, and in order to try Neville, that he had made to him the proposal of assassination.*

James VI, soon yielding to the counsels of his favourite, Gray, wrote to Mary and Queen Elizabeth, that there had never been any act of association concluded between him and his mother, and that Gray had faithfully discharged his mission, in protesting against what had been asserted by Nau in that particular. Mary, justly enraged by a measure so con-

* On this subject Parry wrote a letter to Elizabeth, which concluded thus: "Remember your unfortunate Parry, chiefly overthrown by your hand." See Lingard, vol. viii. p. 181, last edit.

trary to the expectations she had entertained, and the promises made to her, from that time formed the plan of depriving James of all the rights which he derived from her.

The league in France becomes daily more powerful: and, on the 31st March, the Cardinal of Bourbon publishes at Rheims a manifesto, whereby he claims his right to the crown of France after Henry III. All the Catholic sovereigns, with the Pope at their head, admit his pretensions.

Soon after the execution of Parry at London, the English ambassador in France renews his demands for the delivering up of Morgan. For some time, Henry III evaded giving a definitive answer; but at length, not daring absolutely to refuse the pressing solicitations made to him in the name of Elizabeth, he ordered Morgan to be committed to the Bastille, and his papers to be given up to Stafford.*

10th April.—Pope Gregory XIII dies at Rome.

17th April.—Sir Amyas Paulet, who had been ambassador from England to France, is charged with the custody of the Queen of Scots. He was a man of honour and great integrity, but a rigid and fanati-

* Chérelles, who had come from London to Paris with despatches from M. de Mauvissière, was instructed to make a copy of all these papers for the king, and he was ordered to transmit them afterwards to the English ambassador. Chérelles acquitted himself of the commission assigned to him, and took advantage of this opportunity to substitute thirty-two false ciphers for those which he found in Morgan's correspondence with Mary. He pretended to have made this substitution in the interest of the Queen of Scots; but he subsequently delivered all these ciphers to Walsingham, and it was by means of them that Philipps so easily deciphered the whole correspondence of Mary and her secret agents.

cal puritan, and an avowed partizan of Leicester and his faction.

24th April.—The Cardinal of Montalto is elected Pope, and takes the name of Sixtus V.

About this time, also, the Earl of Arundel* was again imprisoned in the Tower of London. He had several years before returned to the Catholic religion; and, perceiving that more severe laws were enacted daily against those who professed that faith, he had intended to go to Flanders secretly. But, betrayed by one of his servants, he was arrested soon after his embarkation, and carried back prisoner to London, along with his brother, William Howard.

At the end of April, Elizabeth sent Sir Edward Wotton as ambassador to James VI, charging him to negotiate a treaty of alliance between the two kingdoms, and to use all his influence to support Gray, who, by perpetual intrigues, began to neutralize the power of the Earl of Arran.

At the beginning of May, Sir Ralph Sadler and Sommers leave Tutbury, after committing the Queen of Scots to the care of Sir Amyas Paulet. Mary took advantage of this opportunity, to send by Sommers to Elizabeth a memorial concerning the various points which had been the subject of the preceding negotiations.

The hatred which the Earl of Arran had excited against himself in Scotland, was become so general, that, in the month of June, the majority of the peers

* Philip Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk, who had taken the title of Earl of Arundel on the death of his maternal grandfather, the last earl of that name.

joined with the English ambassador and Gray, in deciding that the earl should be put to death, and they even went the length of selecting the individual who should assassinate him.*

About this time, a report was prevalent that Mary had made an attempt to escape from Tutbury. Lord Burleigh having expressed his uneasiness on this head to Sir Amyas Paulet, he hesitated not to reply to him that there was not the least danger of the Queen of Scots ever escaping out of his hands alive.†

20th June.—The Earl of Northumberland is murdered in his prison in the Tower of London.

25th June.—The Duke of Nemours dies at Annecy in Savoy.

7th July.—Henry III signs at Nemours a treaty with the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Duke of Guise, by which all the edicts of pacification previously granted to the Protestants are revoked. The promulgation of this treaty becomes the signal of a new civil and religious war in France.

28th July.—Lord Russel is slain by the followers of Ker of Fernihurst, in a fray which occurred on the Scottish border during a day of truce.† The English ambassador, having accused Fernihurst of com-

---

* See in the British Museum, MSS. Cotton, Caligula, C. VIII. fol. 195, letter of 1st June 1585 from Wotton to Walsingham; and also Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 256 et seq.

† See in the State Paper Office at London a letter from Sir Amyas Paulet to Lord Burleigh, of 12th June 1585, wherein he says: "Mary cannot escape without great negligence on my part. If I should be violently attacked, I will be so assured by the grace of God, that she shall die before me."

‡ See, as to this, Tytler, vol. viii. p. 257.

mitting this murder by order of the Earl of Arran, King James VI was obliged to incarcerate his favourite in the castle of St. Andrews. But Arran soon obtained permission to retire on his parole to his castle of Kinneil.

10th August.—A treaty of alliance is signed at London between the Netherlands and England. Queen Elizabeth engages to furnish the States-General with six thousand soldiers.

At the end of August, M. de L'Aubespine de Châteauneuf arrives at London, to succeed M. de Mauvissière in his embassy. Chérelles, who had returned from France some weeks before M. de Châteauneuf, retained his office of secretary under the new ambassador.

At this time, Mary received letters from France, among which were several from Morgan. Indeed, notwithstanding his confinement in the Bastille, Morgan was always employed on schemes to restore the Scottish Queen to liberty, and in corresponding secretly with her. He then first began to speak to her about Gilbert Gifford and Poley.*

* It is very important to determine the dates. Morgan's letters were of 5th June and 20th July 1585 ; they prove that Walsingham was already laying the plan of his famous conspiracy, since it was then that Gifford began to be in communication with Babington and his friends. On the 26th July, Morgan gave Babington a letter of recommendation to Mary, and next day Charles Paget did the same in favour of Gilbert Gifford. There is no doubt that Morgan, during the whole of this unfortunate business, acted in perfect good faith ; but he wanted prudence, and allowed himself to be deluded by traitors. Surrounded by Catholic refugees, as well English as Scotch, he was unable to recognize among them the numerous spies of Walsingham. The chief of

9th September.—Pope Sixtus V signs a bull of excommunication against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé.

At this period, in Scotland, the character of parties had again become distinctly marked. Arran, seeing that he must renounce the support of Elizabeth, who no longer disguised her inimical designs against him, had united himself to the adherents of Mary. Father Holt, a Jesuit, who had been arrested at Leith two years previously, and was still detained prisoner in Edinburgh castle, served as the medium of his communications with the Catholics and other partizans of Mary, as well in Scotland, as in France and England. Gray, on his part, directed in secret the majority of the enemies of Arran, and endeavoured with Wotton to effect the return of the rebel lords who had fled to England.

22nd September.—Colonel Stuart (Captain of the King's Guards, and brother to the Earl of Arran), formally accused Wotton of being in communication with the Scotch rebels. But James VI did not yet dare to adopt any rigorous measures against the representative of Queen Elizabeth.

---

these agents were Poley, Maude, Greatley, and especially Gilbert Gifford. Mention is often made of the latter in the correspondence of Mary and her secretaries, under the names of Pietro or Barnaby, and sometimes under that of Nicolas Cornelius. Gilbert Gifford belonged to a very good Catholic family in Staffordshire. His father was a prisoner at London for his religious opinions; and Gifford, while a refugee in France, had taken orders in the seminary at Rheims. All these circumstances afforded him the means of speedily gaining the confidence of Morgan and his friends, and made it easy for him to perform the disgraceful mission committed to him by Walsingham.

In the course of September, M. de Mauvissière leaves England; but, before setting out, he obtains from Elizabeth a promise that the Queen of Scots shall be removed from Tutbury to a more healthy and convenient residence. Mary takes advantage of the departure of M. de Mauvissière, to send by him the letters which she had prepared and addressed to the King and Queen of France, Catherine of Médicis, and the Duke of Guise. But all these letters passed through the hands of Walsingham.

15th October.—James VI learns that the banished lords are already on the Scottish border, and are mustering forces there, under the command of Elizabeth's officers. He resolved to arrest the English ambassador immediately; but he had already taken flight, and they pursued him as far as Berwick in vain.

31st October.—The Earls of Angus and Marr, with the other banished lords, and Lord Arbroath,* enter Scotland at the head of eight thousand men, and march upon Stirling. They were but a short distance from the town when James was informed of their approach. He had merely time to throw himself into the castle, where he was immediately besieged. As for the Earl of Arran, knowing well that all these hostile demonstrations were directed against himself, he hastened to take flight. The king soon consented to a capitulation, of which Gray was the mediator,† and whereby James granted a pardon to

* Lord Arbroath had become reconciled to the rebels, in the hope of overthrowing the Earl of Arran, who then possessed the whole of the immense estates of the Hamilton family.

† Gray had so ably disguised all his intrigues, that James had

all the rebel lords. In order to guarantee the fidelity of his word, he placed in their hands the majority of the strong-holds of the country. Dumbarton was delivered to Lord Arbroath, and Stirling to the Earl of Marr. At the same time, the Earl of Arran was declared guilty of high-treason.

The Queen of Scots, watched with the utmost strictness since the arrival of her new keeper, was for a long time ignorant of these important events. Her only thought at this time was to obtain the fulfilment of the promise which had been made to her of removal to another residence.

Sir William Knollys, sent by Elizabeth to resume the negotiations for a treaty of alliance between England and Scotland, obtained an audience of James VI, on 23rd November, at Linlithgow.

In consequence of the treaty concluded 10th August with the States-General, the Queen of England nominates the Earl of Leicester Governor-General of the Netherlands, and gives him the command of all the forces which she had sent thither.

10th December.—The Earl of Leicester lands at Flushing, where he is received with the highest honours.

The same day, the Scottish parliament, assembled at Linlithgow, empowers the king to conclude the treaty with the Queen of England.

20th December.—The Baron d'Esneval, Vidame of

---

never conceived the slightest doubt of his fidelity. Yet, on the news of the invasion of Scotland by the rebels, the Earl of Arran accused Gray of being in league with them. But Gray contrived to exonerate himself, and continued with James, while secretly directing the motions of the rebel lords.

Normandy, is sent to Scotland, as ambassador, commissioned to endeavour to obtain from James VI the renewal of the ancient treaties between Scotland and France.* Courcelles was ordered to accompany him.

24th December.—Mary is removed to Chartley Castle, in Staffordshire. Philipps, secretary to Walsingham, arrived there nearly at the same time, in order to continue the deciphering of the letters which Mary wrote, as well as the answers which she received to them.†

At the end of December, also, Gilbert Gifford arrived at London, provided with letters of the most pressing recommendation from the Archbishop of Glasgow, Charles Paget, and Morgan, for the French ambassador and the Queen of Scots. M. de Châteauneuf thenceforward employed Gifford to correspond secretly with Mary.‡

---

* See the king's instructions to Baron d'Esneval, in *The Life of Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor of England*, by Francis Egerton, Paris, 1828, 4to. pp. 58-61.

† All this system of espionage was organized by Walsingham. Sir Amyas Paulet and Philipps saw the whole correspondence which Mary believed to be despatched secretly. Philipps deciphered the letters, reclosed them with forged seals, and then forwarded them to their destinations. In this manner, all Mary's most secret instructions to M. de Châteauneuf, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Morgan, and her other adherents, and all their communications in reply, were immediately known to Walsingham.

‡ See hereafter, the memorial of M. de Châteauneuf upon Babington's conspiracy. I have had no hesitation in reproducing it in this collection, finding that it was impossible to adduce more evident proof of the detestable plots which Walsingham had so artfully devised to bring about the trial and execution of the unfortunate Queen of Scots.

1586.—At the beginning of January, Mary again received a letter from Morgan, in which he informed her of new means of communication, which he believed he had acquired in England; and it was Gifford, Walsingham's most active agent, whom he again warmly recommended to her.*

After the retreat of the Earl of Arran, James VI restored all his favour to Lord Arbroath, whom from the very first day he had distinguished among the lords comprised in the amnesty. By this he seemed desirous to reward the devotion which Lord Arbroath had for a long time professed to Mary.

James likewise recalled to him Lord Claude Hamilton, then resident in France. His lordship hastened to obey his sovereign's order, and left Paris on the 31st of January, bearing despatches from Henry III for the King of Scots and Baron d'Esneval.

In March, Chérelles, who was about to return to Paris by command of the king,† went to spend some days at Chartley, on pretence of taking charge of Mary's letters for France. He took advantage of his stay with the Scottish queen to obtain more new ciphers, which he in like manner communicated to Walsingham.

---

* See in Murdin, p. 454, Morgan's letter to Mary, of 15th October 1585.

† In a letter of 21st March 1586, the Archbishop of Glasgow writes to Mary as follows: "It has been reported of him [Chérelles] to their Most Christian Majesties, that Walsingham had gained him over to the interests of the Queen of England, and given him a chain worth two hundred crowns, and on this account the said M. de Châteauneuf has been ordered to send him back in all haste hither." This letter is preserved in the State Paper Office at London, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xvii.

1st April.—James VI signs the treaty of alliance which he had arranged between England and Scotland; and Randolph, then ambassador from Elizabeth to James, immediately despatches this treaty to London by Thomas Milles.

29th April.—Chérelles leaves London for France.*

From the moment that Morgan and Charles Paget, permitting themselves to be deceived by Gifford, had accorded him a blind confidence, their correspondence with Mary was carried on with great activity.† It was to them that the agents maintained by the queen, not only in France, but in Holland and other countries, addressed nearly all their despatches, and they undertook either to convey them to her, or apprise her of their contents.

At this time, the Queen of Scots had accredited Lord Claude Hamilton and Courcelles, in Scotland; Liggons, in Flanders; Lord Paget and Sir Francis Englefield, in Spain; and Dr. Lewis, secretary of the congregation, at Rome. All that they wrote, and all the replies which they received, passing through the hands of Gifford, were immediately communicated to Walsingham.

In May, the Queen of Scots, having learned that Don Bernard de Mendoça was nominated ambassador

---

* From this period there is scarcely any mention of Chérelles in the correspondence of the time. Only it is certain that he did not receive the just punishment due to his crimes; for in a life of Mary published at Paris in 1793 by Girouard, there is, at page 74, a note in which Chérelles is mentioned with much respect; it is also added that he died at Paris, aged upwards of eighty years.

† Very many of their letters are in the State Paper Office of London, and in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury. Some of the latter have been published by Murdin.

from Spain to France, instantly wrote to the archbishop of Glasgow, as well as to most of her agents in Europe, recommending them to put themselves in communication with the new ambassador.

About this time Ballard, an English priest, went from London to Paris, and presented himself to Charles Paget and the Spanish ambassador, as sent by the principal Catholics in Scotland and England, and instructed by them to declare that, wishing to profit by the general excitement which pervaded the two kingdoms, and the embarrassment occasioned to Elizabeth by the war in Flanders, all the Catholics in Great Britain, and many other malcontents, were ready to take up arms for the deliverance of the Queen of Scots, and the restoration of the Catholic religion, provided that they could reckon upon the assistance of one of the foreign powers.* Don Bernard de Mendoça entertained these overtures with the greatest warmth, promised powerful support, and forthwith wrote to Philip II on the subject.

In the course of June, Mary received a letter from Morgan,† in which he informed her that he had heard from Babington on the preceding evening, and that this gentleman complained bitterly that the Queen of Scots would not employ him as he wished her to do. Morgan himself expostulated with Mary

---

* See in Murdin, p. 516, the letter from Charles Paget to Mary of 29th May 1586. The details into which he enters regarding Ballard prove that this ecclesiastic was altogether unknown to the Queen of Scots, and that she had never previously heard of him.

† The original of this letter, dated 9th May 1586, forms part of the Cecil Papers in the Collection of the Marquis of Salisbury. Murdin has printed it, p. 513.

on this point, and sent her the draft of a letter, which he urged her to write to Babington.*

5th July.—The treaty of alliance concluded between England and Scotland is ratified at Berwick, by the ambassadors of James VI and Elizabeth.

6th July.—Babington replies to the first letter which Mary had written to him, and on the same day Babington's letter is forwarded to Walsingham, at London.

7th July.—This letter was sent to Chartley by Philipps, who the moment before he set out wrote to Walsingham, recommending him to sign a bill for the reward to be given to Gifford, and begging him to send the necessary warrants for Ballard's arrest, as soon as the time for it was come.†

8th July.—Philipps arrives at Chartley, but he could not deliver Babington's letter to Mary before the 12th.

For a long time the Scottish queen had been aware of the treaty entered into between James VI

---

* There is in the State Paper Office at London (Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xix.) an autograph memorial of Nau, dated 10th September 1586. In this memorial, presented by him to Elizabeth, Nau admits that the letter addressed by Mary to Babington on 25th June 1586, was written word for word from a draft sent ready made by Morgan. He adds that this draft, as well as the letter from Morgan accompanying it, would be found among Curle's papers, seized at Chartley. The preceding note proves that this letter was actually found there, since it still forms part of the papers derived from Lord Burleigh.

† Philipps' letter is preserved in the State Paper Office (Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xviii.) It appears that, being now certain he had in his possession sufficient evidence to convict Mary, he found it no longer necessary to continue his intrigues.

and Elizabeth; it occasioned her the most violent regret. Yet having no certain data as to the tenor even of the treaty, she was always in hope that they had therein inserted some clauses indicative at least of her claims to the succession of the English throne. But when she was informed that her name was not mentioned in the treaty, she gave way to the deepest despondency. Precisely at this moment she received Babington's letter of the 6th of July, and in a moment of despair Mary ordered her secretaries to reply to him in her name.

24th.—When Philipps left Chartley to go to Walsingham, he carried with him not only the original cipher of the letter sent to Babington by Mary, but all the letters which this unfortunate princess had addressed to Mendoça and to her principal agents in France and in Scotland.

Walsingham, then being of opinion that he had enough evidence in his hands to destroy the Queen of Scots, determined to lay open the whole conspiracy. He then ordered Maude, the perfidious confidant of Ballard, to denounce that person. As soon as Maude had followed the instructions of Walsingham, the strictest orders were issued for the arrest of Ballard.

3rd August.—Babington, informed of what was going on, wrote for the last time* to Mary, announcing to her the treachery of Maude. Yet it appears that Babington had not lost all hope, for he made

* The official copy of this letter is preserved in the State Paper Office (Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xix.) In this letter Babington informs the Queen that her letter of the 17th July had not reached him till the 29th.

strenuous efforts to procure a passport for Ballard under a fictitious name, and to facilitate his means of quitting England.

4th August.—Ballard having failed to escape, is arrested and confined in the Tower of London. He was racked, and his depositions confirmed officially the details which the ministers of Elizabeth had for a long time known of this conspiracy which they themselves had set on foot.

5th August.—Babington and his accomplices fled and took refuge at St. John's Wood. The council then published the names of the conspirators, and adopted the necessary measures to prevent their escape from the kingdom. All were arrested with the exception of Gilbert Gifford, who had gone to France fifteen days previously, and of Windsor, who contrived to escape.*

In the meanwhile Sir Amyas Paulet had redoubled the rigorous watch which he kept over Mary; she was therefore in the most complete ignorance of the serious events which had happened in London, when, on the 8th of August, Sir Thomas Gorges brought orders for her immediate removal to Tixall.* On the same day, Mary having gone out to ride, was suddenly and forcibly carried off to her new prison, and

* Poley was also committed to the Tower, but he only remained there a short time. Walsingham had taken care to suppress every part of Mary's letters that might compromise him. Of this we have an example in a passage omitted in the copy of the letter from Mary to Charles Paget, May 20th 1586, which was produced at Babington's trial.

† Tixall, situate at a short distance from Chartley, then belonged to Sir Walton Aston. See, for the particulars of this arrest, Lingard, vol. viii. p. 213; and P. F. Tytler, vol. viii. p. 337.

it was then only that she was informed, by Elizabeth's orders, of the discovery of the plot. At the same time they separated her from her attendants, and shut her up in a small room, deprived of all materials for writing.

During this time, Waad, who had arrived at Chartley, made the strictest searches in the castle; all the Queen's trunks and moveables were opened, and her papers, money, and trinkets, seized. The papers were sent to Walsingham with those of Nau and Curle, and the two secretaries were arrested and taken prisoners to London.

30th August.—Sir Amyas Paulet conveyed Mary back to Chartley, where she continued to be watched with the utmost rigour. Nevertheless, shortly after her arrival at this castle, she found means of conveying a letter to her cousin, the Duke of Guise.

On the 2nd of September, the examination of Nau and Curle, who had been confined in Walsingham's house, commenced at London. They were frequently threatened with a committal to the Tower, when their answers were not such as Walsingham desired.

13th September.—Babington and thirteen of his accomplices are brought to trial, and on the 17th of September are all condemned to die.

20th September.—Babington, Ballard, Savage, Barnewell, Tichbourne, Dunn, and Charnock, are executed with the most cruel tortures. On the following day the remaining seven are also put to death.

On the same day Nau and Curle were brought before a commission, composed of Bromley, Burleigh, and Hatton; and are there obliged to sign

extracts from the principal letters last written by Mary.

25th September.—The Queen of Scots is removed to Fotheringay Castle,* never more to leave it alive.

6th October.—Elizabeth, after long hesitation, appoints a commission to try the Queen of Scots. This commission consisted of forty-six members selected from the peers of the realm and the privy-councillors. On the same day Elizabeth wrote to Mary, announcing her determination.

12th October.—Thirty-six of the commissioners having arrived at Fotheringay, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amyas Paulet, and Sir Edward Barker, waited upon the Queen of Scots, and presented to her Elizabeth's letter. Mary, after perusing it, declared that as a Queen and sovereign princess she could not submit to the jurisdiction of the Queen of England, and referred them to the protest which she had already made under similar circumstances, 17th June, 1572, when Lord Delawar and Bromley came to examine her after the execution of the Duke of Norfolk.

The same day, Sir Amyas Paulet and Barker, on the part of Queen Elizabeth's commissioners, returned to Mary, demanding whether she persists in her reply. Mary repeated her protest.†

13th October.—Bromley, then Lord-Chancellor, and Lord Burleigh, waited upon the Queen of Scots, and declared to her that if she persisted in refusing to appear before the commissioners they should proceed

* Fotheringay Castle was situated a short distance from Peterborough, in Northamptonshire.

† The original drafts of these two first protests by Mary are preserved in the State Paper Office (Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xx.)

forthwith to execute their commission in her absence, and without giving fresh intimation. Mary a third time repeated her protest,* but yet at last she expressed a desire to see the list of the names of the commissioners, and to know the extent of their powers, so that she might reflect upon it. This desire was immediately acceded to.

14th October.—Mary consented to appear before the commissioners,† but upon condition that her protest against the rights which Elizabeth arrogated with regard to her should be inserted in the minutes of the sitting. She then defended herself with energy from all participation in the conspiracy entered into against the life of the Queen of England, and, after having refuted with much power the proofs which they sought to bring against her from her correspondence with Babington, she demanded that the original letters should be produced, and that she should be confronted with her two secretaries, Nau and Curle. Neither the one nor the other of these two points was accorded to her. It was at this same sitting that Mary accused Walsingham of having conspired the death of her and her son, and of having invented the whole plot for which they wished to make her responsible.

The next day, 15th October, the Queen of Scots,

* The original draft of this third protest is in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. No. 290, fol. 185.

† They allege that on the preceding evening Hatton was likewise admitted to the presence of the Queen of Scots, and that the remark which he then made, "that if she refused to plead, the world would ascribe her refusal to a secret conviction of her guilt," contributed mainly to her taking this resolution.—See Lingard, vol. viii. p. 223.

cited before the commissioners, again repeated her protest, and at the same time declared that she appealed to God and all Christian sovereigns. Lord Burleigh then produced some imperfect copies of the deciphers of letters, written by Mary to Don Bernard de Mendoça, Doctor Allen, Lord Paget, Charles Paget, and Sir Francis Englefield. The Queen replied to the charges which they pretended to bring against her from these letters, that having been detained a prisoner against all the laws of nations, and against all justice, she had only employed a lawful self-defence in seeking the assistance of her friends, and of the sovereigns her allies, to put an end to her long captivity.

On the same day, Lord Burleigh, having received orders from the court, commanding him not to suffer sentence to be pronounced before the return of the commissioners to London, declares, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, that the commission is adjourned to the 25th October, in the Star Chamber, at Westminster.

25th October.—The commissioners assemble at Westminster, and pronounce sentence of death upon the Queen of Scots; declaring at the same time, that this judgment should not be in any way prejudicial to the honour and the rights of James VI. Some days after the parliament of England confirmed this sentence, and straightway presented an address to Elizabeth, requiring the immediate execution of Mary.

13th November.—Sir Drew Drury is associated with Sir Amyas Paulet as keeper of the Queen of Scots.

14th November.—Queen Elizabeth applied to her parliament to know whether means could not be devised of preserving her life in safety, without sacrificing that of Mary. The two houses in full assembly declared it was impossible.*

19th November.—Lord Buckhurst, and Beale, the clerk of the council, arrive at Fotheringay, and notify to Mary the sentence pronounced against her.† The princess received it with calmness and dignity, always protesting her innocence of being in any wise participant in the plot to assassinate the Queen of England. At the same time she sent a letter to Elizabeth, with different requests relating to her interment and the welfare of her servants.

21st November.—M. Pomponne de Bellièvre, Chancellor of France, arrives in London, sent by Henry III to remonstrate with the Queen of England upon the sentence of death pronounced against Mary. He immediately demands an audience; but the ministers of Elizabeth, fearing the effect of his representations, used every sort of means to retard the first interview of M. de Bellièvre with their sovereign.

25th November.—They permitted Mary to see her almoner, Préau, when she intrusted to him privily all

---

* See Lingard, *History of England*, vol. viii. p. 221.

† See letter from Mary to Mendoça, of *Wednesday, the 23rd November*, in which she says that the sentence had been *announced* to her on the Saturday preceding,—that is to say, the 19th; and in the State Paper Office (Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xx.) the letter from Paulet to Walsingham, of 21st November, in which he mentions that Lord Buckhurst had left Fotheringay *that same morning*.

the letters which she had written since the daywhen the sentence of death was communicated to her.*

28th November.—M. de Bellièvre was at length admitted to an audience of Queen Elizabeth at Richmond. He then addressed to her the most energetic remonstrances, in the name of the King of France, against the sentence which condemned the Queen of Scots to death; and forcibly represented to her all the reasons of justice and humanity which should prevent her from shedding the blood of a sovereign, her nearest relative. But, in spite of all his efforts, the Queen of England remained inflexible.

At the end of November, Leicester returned from Flanders. Elizabeth, who had not forgot how often Leicester had urged her to put an end to Mary, desired that he should assist her with his advice in the difficult position in which she found herself placed, struggling with the anxious desire of destroying a dangerous rival, and the fear of being accused of cruelty. Probably the counsels of Leicester were in accordance with her own wishes, for, on the 4th of December, she signed the sentence pronounced against Mary.

The next day, 5th December, M. de Bellièvre waited upon the Queen of England, to protest anew and demand a reprieve; and, as she would give him no promise on the subject, M. de Bellièvre then demanded his passports.

6th December.—The sentence is published at

* All these letters remained concealed in the hands of Préau and the other servants of Mary, until their arrival in France, and were not forwarded to their directions till September and October 1587.

London with great ceremony; bonfires are lit, and the bells are rung all day long. On the same day, Messieurs de Bellièvre and de Châteauneuf write to Elizabeth, in the view of obtaining a delay sufficient to admit of their communicating with the King of France and receiving his reply.

9th December.—The queen verbally informs them that she grants to them twelve days respite; but she not the less orders Burleigh to prepare the warrant for Mary's execution.* In the meanwhile, M. de Bellièvre hastens to dispatch M. de Genlis, to report faithfully to the king all that had passed.

24th December.—M. de Bellièvre, having received the reply of Henry III, demands from Elizabeth his farewell audience.

27th December.—He is at length admitted to the queen's presence at Greenwich palace. At this audience he renews his protests, and concludes them by saying that the king his master had ordered him to declare that he felt himself in a special manner insulted, by the manner in which the Queen of England had slighted his remonstrances and entreaties. Elizabeth, highly offended by this declaration, demanded that M. de Bellièvre should deliver her a copy of it, signed by himself.

29th December.—The Master of Gray, Sir Robert Melvil, and Sir William Keith, arrive at London as ambassadors from James VI to Elizabeth. They were sent, in like manner, to endeavour to arrest the

* The original draft of this warrant, in the autograph of Lord Burleigh, addressed to Sir Amyas Paulet, is dated 10th December. It is preserved in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury; Murdin has printed it in his collection, page 574.

execution of the sentence pronounced upon the Queen of Scots.

1587.—4th January.—M. de Bellièvre departs for Dover, having only received his passports on the preceding evening.

On the same day, Stafford, brother of the English ambassador in France, goes to Destrappes, the secretary of M. de Châteauneuf, and takes him to see a prisoner confined for debt. This person, after complaining of the injustice of which he had been the victim, concluded by offering to kill the queen provided the ambassador would pay his debts. Destrappes, indignant at this audacity, immediately informs M. de Châteauneuf, who orders Stafford to be turned out of doors, and forbids him ever to approach him again.

6th January.—The ambassadors of James VI have an audience of Elizabeth, and make various proposals to her to save the life of Mary; but they could not succeed.

The same day, Destrappes, who had gone to join M. de Bellièvre at Dover, is arrested at Rochester, by the queen's orders, conveyed to London, and committed to the Tower, under the pretence of having been accessary to a plot against the life of Elizabeth.

7th January.—The English ministers announce the discovery of this pretended conspiracy, in which they affirm that M. de Châteauneuf is also involved.

8th January.—All the ports of England are closed, and the messengers dispatched by M. de Châteauneuf to the king are arrested.

10th January.—The ambassadors from James VI

obtain from the Queen of England a second audience, which had the same result as the former.*

17th January.—They take leave of the queen, protesting, in the name of the king their master, against all which she might do against the life of Mary.

1st February.—Elizabeth signs the warrant for Mary's execution, presented to her by Davison, and orders it to be remitted to the Chancellor, to affix the Great Seal thereto. The same day, according to the queen's instructions, Walsingham and Davison wrote to Sir Amyas Paulet, desiring him to put to death privately the unfortunate prisoner committed to his care.

2nd February.—Sir Amyas Paulet replied, that he was ready to sacrifice his life and his estates for the service of her majesty, but that he never would sully his honour by a crime so detestable as that required of him. Sir Drew Drury also subscribed the same declaration.† When Elizabeth learned the result of the overtures made to the keepers of Mary, she burst forth into invectives against their cowardice.

3rd February.—The council, after considering the honourable refusal of Sir Amyas Paulet, sent letters-patent to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, ordering them to preside at the execution of the Queen of Scotland. These letters were signed by Burleigh,

---

* That could not be otherwise, since Gray had secretly assured Burleigh and Walsingham that James VI would not avenge the death of his mother.

† See the particulars in Nicolas's *Life of W. Davison*, p. 100; and the *History of Scotland*, by P. F. Tytler, vol. viii. p. 388.

Leicester, Hunsdon, F. Knollys, Walsingham, Derby, C. Howard, Hatton, and Davison.*

4th February.—Beale, the clerk of the council, is sent to Fotheringay, to carry this order, and adopt the necessary measures for carrying it into effect.

7th February.—The Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, accompanied by Andrews, the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, arrive with their retinue at Fotheringay. The two earls wait upon Mary, and announce to her that her execution is to take place next morning. That princess replied that she was ready to die in the Catholic faith, which she had always professed, and that, in that solemn moment, she repeated the assurance which she had invariably given, that she had never conspired against the life of Elizabeth.

The request which the Queen of Scots had made to see her confessor having been denied to her, she wrote to him, requesting absolution for her sins. She then assembled all her servants, distributed among them what remained of her money and trinkets, and spent a part of the night in devotion and preparing her last settlements.

On Wednesday, 8th February (the 18th of the new style), Mary was beheaded in the hall of Fotheringay castle; and Henry Talbot, son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was instantly sent to convey the intelligence to Elizabeth. The queen feigned great surprise, and manifested not only the most violent grief, but even sought to cast all the odium of the execution upon Davison, who nevertheless had only obeyed her

---

* See the letters-patent in Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. iii. p. 3; and in the British Museum, MSS. Cotton, Caligula, C. IX. fol. 156.

orders. Elizabeth also imprisoned Davison, and never would consent to pardon him.

After the scaffold was taken down, Sir Amyas Paulet ordered Mary's testament to be read to Préau, her almoner, who for some time had again been kept apart from his mistress, and was not permitted to attend her in her last moments.

The same day, the body of the deceased queen was embalmed, and put into a leaden coffin, which remained for six months at Fotheringay castle, where all her servants were detained for the same period.

9th February.—The news of the execution of Mary was promulgated at London; the bells were kept ringing and bonfires burning throughout the night.

19th February.—The sad intelligence reaches Paris, where it produces the most melancholy sensation. The Catholics loudly proclaim that the Queen of Scots had died a martyr to her devotion to her religion.*

3rd March.—A grand funeral service in honour of Mary, was performed in the church of Notre Dame at Paris. All the princes and great lords of the court assisted at it, as well as the parliament and the other supreme courts.

29th July.—The corpse of Mary Stuart is removed in great state to Peterborough cathedral; and, on

---

* It appears to me that such must be the opinion of every impartial historian; and I am happy to have found it to be that of the learned continuator of Mackintosh's *History of England*, who, in the third volume, p. 328, thus expresses himself: "The great operating cause of the execution of the Queen of Scots, in the mind of Elizabeth's council, was doubtless the security of the established religion, and Protestant succession to the throne."

the 31st, is interred on the right side of the choir, opposite the tomb of Queen Catharine of Arragon, first wife of Henry VIII.

3rd August.—The servants of the deceased Queen of Scots finally leave Fotheringay for London. They are again detained fifteen days there, during which time Nau precedes them to the French court.

4th December.—Judgment of the parliament of Paris is pronounced relative to the testament of Mary, at the request of the Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow, her testamentary executors.

1603.—3rd April.—Elizabeth dies. James VI, King of Scotland, succeeds her, and the two crowns are united in his person.

1612.—11th October.—James I of England (VI of Scotland) causes the body of Mary Stuart, his mother, to be removed from Peterborough to Westminster abbey.

END OF THE SUMMARY.

LETTERS

OF

MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND,

SELECTED FROM THE

"RECUEIL DES LETTRES DE MARIE STUART,"

OF

PRINCE ALEXANDER LABANOFF.

LETTERS OF MARY STUART,

ETC.

To the Cardinal of Lorraine.

[*Cotemporary copy.—Bibliotheca Magliabecchiana, at Florence.* MS. 231, class xxx. p. 841 *v.*]

From Edinburgh, the 30th January, 1563.

My uncle,—Having the present opportunity of writing to you, I am desirous of maintaining myself in your favour; wherefore I the more readily do so, since the present occasion happens so seasonably, being assured by the Cardinal of Granvelle that he will forward this letter to you, along with one which I have addressed to our most Holy Father, and which I beg you will present to him from me with the submission which I owe to him; in which I am resolved to live and to die, by never departing from the fellowship of the ancient Catholic and Roman Church, of which I hold him to be the Head and Shepherd; beseeching him to consider me his devoted daughter, testifying to him—as you can do, if you please—my displeasure with this miserable country, and to believe that I shall esteem myself happy to be able to amend it, even at the cost of life itself, which I would sooner lose, than, by changing my faith, approve of their heresies in any part.

I am sure that he will listen to you; wherefore, I beseech you that, if in any thing I have been deficient in my duty towards religion, you will make my excuse to him; as no one knows better than you, both my inclination and my ability. I shall be still farther obliged, by your informing me what is determined by the Holy Assembly,* in order that

---

* The Council of Trent.

—in so far as regards myself, and those over whom I have authority, and who are still unchanged—it may be observed; and which, on my part, shall be inviolably.

I shall conclude by praying that God may grant you, my uncle, grace to do something of importance for His glory, and the peace of so many good kingdoms that are in trouble, and have so much need of repose. And, with this wish, I offer to you my affectionate remembrances.

From Lislebourg,* this 30th of January, 1563.

Your very obedient and good niece,

MARIE.

To Pope Pius IV.

[*Cotemporary copy.*†—*Bibliotheca Magliabecchiana, at Florence.* MS. 231, class xxx. p. 841.]

From Edinburgh, the 31st January, 1563.

Most Serene Father,—It being ever our intention, since our return to this kingdom, to employ, as we have done, our studies, thoughts, labour, and manners, such as it has pleased God to give us, in bringing back to the truth our poor subjects, whom we have with the greatest displeasure found to have wandered from the good path, and to be plunged in the new opinions and damnable errors which are now prevalent in many places of Christendom; we are extremely annoyed that the evil of the time is so great as to prevent us from doing our duty, as we desire, in the assembly of this holy council; and we implore your Holiness to believe that this proceeds from no defect on our part in doing all that is possible to send thither a number of the prelates of our kingdom, of whom a great portion is absent. Hoping that so good and pious a journey will be productive of consequences tending

---

* Edinburgh, so called by the French, from its being surrounded by water at that period. This fact, which has generally escaped topographers, is fully proved by sundry ancient records.

† Copies of this and the preceding letter are in the library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. They are extracted from a MS. in the Barberini Library at Rome, entitled "Memoirs of the Archbishop of Zara on the Council of Trent."

to the edification of all our subjects, by making them worthily acknowledge the holy Roman Catholic Church, in the obedience of which we desire to live your most devoted daughter. To which end we shall spare no effort in our power, even life itself if need be, as we have requested our uncle, the most reverend the Cardinal of Lorraine, in kissing devoutly the feet of your Holiness, to make you understand more fully—as he who knows the state of our affairs, and the manners, is able to do—the need which we have of the assistance and favour of your Holiness. And herewith we pray to our Creator that He will long preserve and maintain your Holiness in good health, and the government of His Church and the Christian community.

Written in Edinburgh, the last day of January, 1563.

Your most devoted daughter, the Queen of Scotland,

MARIE.

To the Cardinal of Granvelle.*

[*Autograph.—Library of Besançon, Memoirs of Granvelle*, vol. x. fol. 118.]

From Edinburgh, the 5th March, 1564.

My cousin,—The thoughtfulness which you have shown for me, by communicating to me such important information,† makes me so extremely obliged to you, that I do not think I could be so much to any friend or relation which I have, in never having done anything which merited from you such an office, which I desire very soon to acknowledge by some better deed than mere thanks,—of which the more I gave to you, the more I still should owe to you,—which will prevent me from troubling you with more of them.

And I shall only say that I infinitely prefer without cause

* Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal of Granvelle, minister of Charles V and Philip II, son of Nicolas Perrenot, chancellor to the former monarch; born at Ornans, in Burgundy, 20th August 1517; died at Madrid, 21st September 1586.

† This information bore reference to the plots devised by Cecil and Randolph, in concert with the Scottish malcontents, against the person of Mary.

to receive the displeasure of those who persecute me with it, than to have given any to them, or to any others, for wishing evil to me only for not having, like them, failed in my duty to God or man. I feel myself honoured, and shall strive to keep myself and my kingdom in peace, and the right which I have elsewhere, with as much of justice, as by their frauds they have hazarded country, friends, and reputation; against which I hope to preserve myself, by the help of God, who alone has been my guide hitherto, and who will not, I am persuaded, desert me. So I shall not let them know that I am acquainted with their praiseworthy designs; and, protecting myself from their schemes, I shall be content that honest people may judge of our deportments.

And since by so good a proof I know you to be so much my friend, I shall not fear to request you to inform me of that concerning which I have so often written to you, as indeed you promised to me by your letter of the last of January, which I received, together with the information, on the 2d of this month. You can sufficiently of yourself consider if it is of consequence for me speedily to have a reply upon the points of which you shall be apprised by Raulet, my secretary, which will spare me the necessity of repeating it to you, or addressing you farther than to commend me to your favour, praying God that He may give you, my cousin, in health, a very happy and long life. From Lislebourg, this 5th of March, 1564.

Your very good cousin,

Marie R.

Addressed:—To Monsieur the Cardinal of Granvelle, my cousin.

To the Duchess D'Arschot.*

[*Cotemporary copy —Library of Besançon, Memoirs of Granvelle*, vol. xvi. fol. 234.]

From Edinburgh, the 6th November, 1564.

My aunt,—Having heard that this vessel sails for Flanders

---

* Anne of Lorraine, widow of René de Nassau-Chalon, Prince

to-morrow, I will not allow it to depart without this note, to recall me to your favour, and also to apprise you that I received intelligence from France, the day before yesterday, by one of my people, whom the Bishop of Glasgow, my ambassador there, sent to me. And, among other things of which I am informed, I learn that the Prince of Condé has sought me in marriage from my grandmother, and my uncle, the cardinal, to whom he has made the handsomest proposals, as well regarding religion as other things; and especially he wishes to give his children as pledges that he will defend my friends from all their enemies, in permitting them to get redress from them by solemn justice; and to this effect he is to send to me a gentleman of this country, pretty well acquainted with diplomatic intrigues, assuring himself that he will so manage the lords of this country who are of the Protestant religion, that they will entreat me to consent to it.

My neighbours request another thing, which I have no great liking for either; but I have wished much to write to you what I have heard upon that point, in order that you may give me an answer to it, with all the rest; for the Constable* has assured my people of the marriage of him whom you know, and others also, with the eldest daughter† of the newly elected.

This is all that I can say, without a cipher; but, if I hear from you, I shall write to you at greater length. Meanwhile, I beg you to believe me the most affectionate relative and friend you have; and so I kiss your hands, as heartily, to conclude, I pray God to give you, my aunt, in health, a very happy and long life.

From Lislebourg, 6 November, 1564.

Addressed:—To Madame the Duchess d'Arschot.

---

of Orange, and daughter of Antony, Duke of Lorraine, by Renée de Bourbon; born 25th July 1522; became second wife of Philip de Croy, first Duke of Arschot, 9th July 1548; died in 1568, and was interred in the church of the Cordeliers at Diest.

* De Montmorency.

† Anne, eldest daughter of Maximilian II, who was then talked of in marriage with Charles IX, and who subsequently, in 1570, married Philip II of Spain.

To the Duchess d'Arschot.

[*Cotemporary copy.—Library of Besançon, Memoirs of Granvelle*, vol. xvi. fol. 234.]

From Edinburgh, the 3d January, 1565.

My aunt,—I have received a letter from you, dated 4th October, in which you write to me the news you have had in reference to the marriage of which you wot. I was very glad to receive your opinion of it, not for the expectation which I had founded thereon, but for its enabling me to decide, without which I might be blamed for having acted with too much precipitation.

And, with respect to what has been asserted of the engagement between the emperor's son and me, they are ill informed; for, except some words which passed, more than a year ago, between my uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine and him, I have heard nothing of it since. And I assure you that he is the person for whom, to speak freely, I have the least thought; not that I do not consider the match great and honourable, but less serviceable for the advancement of my interest, as well in this country as in that to which I claim some right, if it were, as you write to me, supported elsewhere; but I tell you in different ways* . . . . for many respects, . . . I have not heard any news from him when I shall have it; if, however, no other opportunity occurs, I shall consider of it, and shall always take your good advice, as my kind aunt and greatest friend.

As for the rest, I am determined to consider what will be my resolution, for my affairs and my subjects urge me to it; and, not to weary you, shall extend this letter no farther than to offer my affectionate commendations to your favour, praying God to give you, my aunt, a very happy and long life.

From Lislebourg, 3d January, 1565.

Addressed—To Madame the Duchess d'Arschot.

---

* This sentence, of which the fragments apparently relate to the secret design of a marriage between the Queen of Scots and Don Carlos, which was the object of the negotiation of the Cardinal of Granvelle and the Duchess d'Arschot, was doubtless completed by the ciphers which have not been retained in the copy, so that what remains is unintelligible.

To Queen Catherine of Medicis.

[*Autograph.—Royal Library, Paris; French supplement.*]

From Edinburgh, the 12th March, 1565.

Madam,—As Lusgérie* is returning to my uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, I have wished to be kept in your kind remembrance by the bearer hereof, whom I have dispatched along with him for this purpose, as the said Lusgérie is unable to take so long a journey. And, because I have heard of the wicked assault made upon my uncle,† I will be bold enough to entreat that you will take other measures for the execution of justice, the defect of which has caused this second outrage; and pardon me if I say to you that I feel certain that you will never enjoy perfect peace, until you demonstrate the power of the king your son to do justice, especially to those who have rendered so much service to his crown. Forgive me if I write to you passionately; for I have already lost one uncle, and now nearly another. I shall conclude this disagreeable subject by requesting you to give audience to my ambassador, who will narrate to you everything concerning me. And so I present to you my very humble commendations to your favour, praying God to give you, madam, in health, a very happy and long life.

From Lislebourg, this 12th of March.

Your very humble and very obedient daughter,

Marie.

Fragment of a Memorial by Mary as to her Second Marriage.

[*Autograph.—State Paper Office, London; Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. xxi.]

Without date [1565.]

REASONS AGAINST THE FOLLY OF THE MARRIAGE.

First, the marriage constantly by her intended, and nego-

---

* He appears to have been a physician. See, subsequently, letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, of 18th March 1580.

† On 8th January 1565, after the Cardinal of Lorraine had entered Paris, attended by a numerous escort of his servants and

tiated between her and the Prince of Spain,* to which the Cardinal of Granvelle, the Duchess d'Arschot, and many other persons of distinction, and even of her own subjects, can bear testimony;—which perceiving to be broken off against her will, by an agreement made, unknown to her, by her relations in France, with Don Charles,† in which, besides the displeasure occasioned by the breach of the other, she saw no advantage for her kingdom, he being a foreigner, poor, and in a very remote country, and the youngest of his brothers, and not agreeable to her subjects, and without any appearance of means or power to assist her in the claim which she preferred to the possession of this island, resolved not to risk the offending her subjects, unless for one who could control them by his power, she being deficient in that, and being, as it were, under their curatory, without power or money, or even trusty councillors, among those who were to her unknown; and, by her long education out of the country, and the difference of religion, and new reconciliation forced upon her for the treasons and crimes wrought against her father, mother, her lord and husband, and herself; for all which considerations, she resolved rather to marry a native of this island, to which project both Catholics and Protestants earnestly entreated her, and openly threatened not to permit the contrary.

Then, the Countess of Lennox (as she invariably since I was annoyed by her had done) sent some person to visit me, and, by letters and tokens, entreated me to marry her son, of the blood of England and Scotland, and the nearest after me in succession, Stuart by name, in order always to preserve

---

friends, all well armed, Marshal de Montmorency, governor of the Isle of France, caused them to be surrounded with a body of soldiers, who disarmed them. One of the Cardinal's servants, having offered some resistance, was killed on the spot. The Cardinal addressed a complaint to the court, in the strongest terms; but the king endeavoured to stifle this quarrel, which might have rekindled the civil war.

* Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip II and Mary of Portugal.

† The Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Ferdinand I, and brother to the Emperor Maximilian II.

that surname so agreeable to the Scotch, of the same religion as myself, and who would respect me according to the honour conferred upon him, in that it should oblige him. The Earl of Atholl, Lord Lindsay, all the Stuarts and Catholics, laid stress upon that.

The Protestants brought forward Leicester, who, on his part, wrote to me and sued me by Randolph: to which Murray pretended to listen, knowing that, although his queen had written to me in his behalf, it was merely to deceive me and keep off others. This Leicester himself wrote to me privately, through Randolph, shewing me, on the other hand, how to induce her by fear to consent; to wit, by the disturbances in Ireland, where I had power at that time, of which she was much afraid.

Murray, on the other hand, secretly endeavoured to legitimate himself; and, pretending to love me, would not leave me alone, and wished to take charge of all the offices, strongholds, and the whole government of the kingdom; and, as my lieutenant-general, was so well strengthened, that he held me in tutelage, and at length proposed to me to cede my crown to him and the Earl of Argyll, and to set aside the Hamiltons as I had Huntly, which induced me to think of consenting to marry, and thereby, if not to please all, at least honest people, Catholics, and those of my own name: whereof I apprised Atholl, and those who urged me to it, that they might ascertain the pleasure of their supporters; and my mother-in-law and her husband thereon endeavoured to procure the restoration of her husband to his honours and estates, and, under this pretext, be enabled to treat of the marriage of his son with her.

Having effected this, he came hither and began to make use of his friends and tamper with the others, and especially the Earl of Murray, who, thinking that the plan would not be carried into effect, and that he could break it off when he wished, at first appeared to consent to Lennox, under pretext of his name, and in the hope of obtaining his assistance in ruining the Hamiltons, whom otherwise he did not dare to attack.

Lennox, in this expectation, sent for his son; and, in the meanwhile, I held a parliament, at which, by common consent, I restored them to their estates. The son came, but stealthily, inasmuch as Murray, seeing that I was inclined to this match in good earnest, procured in England that he should be recalled by the queen; but he, being apprised of this by his Catholic friends, and others of the country who were not less . . . .

To Paul de Foix,* the French Ambassador in England.

[*Cotemporary copy.—Royal Library of Paris; French Supplement.*]

From Edinburgh, the 8th November, 1565.

Monsieur de Foix,—I have received by the courier who conveys this, three of your letters, by which I am fully informed of the proceedings of our rebels, and of the good services which you have rendered to me against them; who, as I understand, have gone to complain to the Queen of England, that I am much more severe to them than their offences merit; and, desiring that it should be known to every body whether I am warranted in treating them with severity, I will give you a short account of their behaviour.

In reply to the first point, that of not permitting the assembly of my nobility at St. Johnston,† of which the Earl of Murray complains, I will tell you why I did not do so.

You must understand, that when the said Earl of Murray perceived that I wished to marry the son of the Earl of Lennox, he came and told me that, since I had so resolved, he would contrive so well that all the nobility and the rest of my subjects should approve of it, provided that he might

* Paul de Foix, archbishop of Toulouse, born in 1528, commenced his diplomatic career under Catherine de Médicis; and his first embassy was in Scotland, to Queen Mary. He died towards the end of May 1584. De Thou says: "I never parted from him without feeling myself a better man, and more disposed to the practice of virtue."

† Perth.

manage the business himself alone, and that my said subjects should know that he was the leader in it; and that, by the same means (to make them better affected to it), it was necessary to banish from this kingdom the Roman Catholic religion. And so saying, he requested my permission to go to Edinburgh, to attend an action at law which was to be brought against the Earl of Bothwell; and, having arrived at Edinburgh aforesaid, I was informed that he was tampering with some of the nobility there, to compel me to follow his advice; and that, at an assembly which I was to hold at St. Johnston aforesaid, he had resolved (in case that I would not follow his advice), with the consent of several whom he had gained over, to arrest the king* and the Earl of Lennox, and send them to England, in revenge for their disinclination to avail themselves of his assistance in promoting my marriage, and for their negotiating with me exclusively. It appeared to me very singular that a subject, upon whom I had bestowed so much honour and wealth, should compel me by his underhand dealing to undertake nothing except through the medium of him, if I wished to marry. And fearing that, if I permitted the said assembly at St. Johnston, they should discuss any matter too offensive to my conscience and my dignity, by the advice of Lethington I put it off at that time, and till another occasion.

Then the said Earl of Murray, seeing that his design had miscarried, and that I was, from day to day, still gaining many of the nobility to assent to my marriage, he bethought himself of another mode of preventing it. And, to effect this, he propagated a report among my subjects that the Earl of Lennox, and the king his son, had wished to kill him, because he would not consent to my marriage without the advice of the whole nobility, and that they should consider well what they were doing before they permitted me to marry; and the said Earl of Murray used his utmost endeavour to impress upon my subjects that the king was of a wicked disposition, and wished to assassinate him, so as to

* Darnley, then her husband.

make them always the more unwilling to consent to my marriage.

And, being unwilling that these false accusations should be believed by my people, I summoned a meeting of all the lords of my council in this city, and, informing them that the Earl of Murray complained that they wished to kill him, and that I was desirous that full justice should be done to every one, I begged them to adopt measures to make the said Earl of Murray prove what he had said of the king and the Earl of Lennox; and in case that what he had so said was proven, I would not tolerate such an injury to be done towards the person of him whom I esteemed as a brother. And, to get at the truth, I, by their advice, sent to request the said Earl of Murray (then at his own house) to come to me, to declare wherein he felt himself injured, assuring him that I would not move one step further in my marriage, if the said Earl of Lennox and the king his son were guilty of conspiring for his death; and sent him such pledges of safety, as every one knows, that he might have no ground for refusal to come to me.

Nevertheless, he would not do so: and, having a second time sent two lords of the council to assure him that he should be very welcome to make his just complaints, and all those who had informed him of such a deed, he sent me a reply that he could not otherwise prove what he had said, and that I ought to believe him, for it was true.

Wherefore, seeing that he could not substantiate his charges, and as I could not believe that the Earl of Lennox and the king would have sought to commit such a crime, I for the third time sent a message to apprise him, that, if he did not come to maintain and prove his words, I would denounce him as a rebel, and pursue him as such.

Then, seeing that I wished by all means to ascertain the truth of the fact, with the intention of punishing the party who should be found guilty, whether the accuser or the accused, and fearing that he should be convicted of falsehood, he went to Argyllshire, where he began to muster conventions and meetings, to entice all the nobility to take up arms

against me, relying much upon the duke,* and other gentlemen of the country, whom he knew to be mortal enemies of the Earl of Lennox and the king, his son; and thus, his pride being so excited, accompanied by the aforesaid, they did all in their power against me; and even, some days before the celebration of my marriage, I sent, requesting them to attend it, from which they excused themselves, protesting that they were assembled in defence of their lives and estates, to oppose the government usurped by the king my husband. And, not content therewith, they published what they could to make me hateful to my subjects, as I shall shew to you by copies of the statements which they have made, and which I shall send to you soon by a special messenger.

Such is the allegiance which they have borne to me, and the manner in which they have behaved towards me; and I assure you, that in all which the said Earl of Murray has stated to the queen, my good sister, there is not a single word of truth: and when he complains that they have wished to kill him, let him lay his hand upon his heart, and deny, if he can, that he himself desired to kill those who are about me, and, among other momentous murders, that he had conspired the death of the king and the Earl of Lennox, when I came from St. Johnston to Edinburgh to prepare my nuptials, and intended to confine me in a castle; as I will prove by a hundred gentlemen who were in his company, and whom I have pardoned since his flight into England.

I believe that when the queen, my good sister, is made aware of his conduct, she will not consider me unreasonable in proceeding against him as I do. And, although I have written to you at large, by Cockburn, the result of these disturbances, I beg that you will not delay to represent to her what I write to you; and that I cannot, for the preservation of my crown, and the allegiance of many lords by whom I am at present faithfully served, act otherwise towards the said Earl of Murray: of which I hope shortly to inform her, by a person whom I shall send there expressly on my other affairs;

---

* Of Chatelhérault.

and that, in the meanwhile, I beg that she will by no means intercede with me for the said rebels, nor give credit to their assertions, until I have laid before her my just reasons, and that she sees that they are unworthy of her commendation.

With respect to the conversation which you had with the Earl of Leicester, and the desire which he expresses to be one of my good friends, I feel much indebted to him for the good will which he bears towards me, having constantly perceived that at all times: and I beg you will assure him, that, whatever any one may have wished to make him believe to the contrary, I am confident of his good friendship, and consider him one of the best friends whom I have in England, and that I shall be delighted to have an opportunity of doing him a service; letting him know that I have not forgotten the good offices which he has hitherto done me, doubting not that he has many enemies, against whom it is necessary for him to protect himself: and, if he wishes to take any particular side, he will find none whose friendship will be more at the service of him and his house than ours.

I have acquainted the king, my husband, of the exertions which you have made to procure the liberty of the Countess of Lennox, my mother-in-law, for which he and I thank you heartily: and as to what you write to me, that if I incline to come to terms with my rebels it will be easy to relieve her from imprisonment, it is to no purpose that the Queen of England is willing to favour us by making this the condition of her liberty; for, if the king, my husband, and I were in her place, we would rather remain there all our lives, than go out on such terms; for it seems to me that the comparing of my mother-in-law with a prior of St. Andrews,* is very derogatory to us. And when the queen, my good sister, shall have well considered the little reason she has to treat her so, I make no doubt that she will use her better than she has done. This I beg you will represent to her on our part, and request her to be more lenient to her, and act worthily

* The base, unprincipled, ungrateful, and treacherous bastard, Murray, the last prior of St. Andrews.

of a great princess, and that towards a person so nearly allied to her as my said mother-in-law: which will oblige the king, my husband, and me to do the same to her, if an opportunity were to occur, and make us more inclined to follow her inclination. And here I commend myself to your favour, and pray God to give you, Monsieur de Foix, in health, a long and happy life.

Written at Edinburgh, this 8th day of November, 1565.

[*At the bottom of this letter, the following is written, in the autograph of the said lady:*]

Monsieur de Foix,—Since my letter was written, Randolph has brought me letters from the queen, my sister, by which it appears, that, without reference to our rebels, she desires to come to some agreement, of which I am very glad: and, assuring myself that your good offices will have greatly promoted it, I have felt anxious to thank you, and request you to continue them, and make my remembrances to my lord of Leicester, whose good friend I desire to be, and use me as

Your very good friend,
MARIE R.

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Autograph.—State Paper Office of London; Royal Letters, Scotland*, vol. ii.]

From Edinburgh, the 2d February, 1566.

Madam, my good sister,—In consequence of the many false communications which generally happen between one country and another, even to the injury of the greatest friendships, as I am convinced has often occurred to my own disadvantage with you, and the lessening of our good friendship and understanding, I have resolved to send to you the bearer hereof,* to reside at your court, and certify to you the truth of all that comes from this quarter, and have charged him to assure you of my good will towards you; which I pray you to believe.

---

* Robert Melvil.

Besides, although I have only heard a report, alleged to proceed from Randolph's people; yet, as it might be a thing which might shew some revenge or malice against the poor servants of the king, my husband, I am desirous of saying a word upon the subject. It is, that I have heard that Foulart, a poor servant, having for some reason wished to go with the king, my husband, unknown to me, has fallen into the hands of your officers, and that you have ordered him to be put to death. This I cannot believe, seeing that towards those who have acted as traitors to you, you have always been, as it were, extremely merciful where life was concerned; and as to this person, who, as far as I hear, has committed no offence against you, except that of following his master, and serving him, as a poor servant, to whom he owed every thing, it seems to me only just that I should entreat you to delay the punishment of death, unless he has plotted or done anything against your crown or your person, or against any of your ministers; for, if you find him guilty on the least of these points, I do not ask you not to do so, but only if his fault solely consists in abetting the preferment of his master, and having followed him: and I promise you that, if I found any other fault in him, I would ask no other favour from you but to inflict upon him summary punishment, wishing never to make any request but such as I should wish you to make to me. Nevertheless, setting aside my claim of pity, I take God to witness, that I have no other interest in that matter but because he is the servant of my husband.

I will urge you no further; but entrust myself to the ability of Melvil, the bearer hereof, to whom I beg you will give credit, and a favourable audience, when, on my part, you shall be requested to do so, or his office may demand it; especially in what refers to my mother-in-law,* who, I understand, is in great trouble and sickness, in consequence of her close confinement. If, alas! my good sister thinks thereon dispassionately, does she deserve to be punished for having wished well to her child? For I am sure that you will not

* The Countess of Lennox.

find her to be guilty, by deed or conspiracy, against your will. This is also the chief cause of my sending despatches to you in such great haste, entreating you not to give any pretext to any person to suppose that you have changed too much your favour towards me, which I have not deserved.

On this point, the bearer is instructed in all my views; I beg you will give him such credit as you would to myself, and reserve to me a little of your favour until I shall have justly lost it, which I trust not to do so long as I live. Wherefore, I pray God to give you, madam, my good sister, a long and happy life.

From Lislebourg, this 2d of February.

Your very affectionate and faithful good sister and cousin,

Marie R.

P.S.—I beg you will excuse my bad writing, for my present state does not allow me to take that trouble easily.*

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Cotemporary copy.—State Paper Office, London; Royal Letters, Scotland*, vol. ii.

From Edinburgh, February, 1566.

Madam, my good sister,—According to the candour which I have always hitherto exercised towards you, dealing freely with you, and laying before you the causes of my complaints and remonstrances, preferred as opportunities occurred, touching yourself or any of your people, it has seemed to me, in order to avoid inconsistency, that I ought to address this to you, whereby you will be informed of the wicked conduct of Randolph, your ambassador here; which, having recently come to my knowledge, I do not delay to communicate speedily to you. First, I have been accurately informed, that in the very midst of the disturbances which my rebels have excited against me, the said Randolph, after much other petty conduct, has lent them the sum of three thousand crowns, to pay men to defend themselves against me, and given them

* She was in the fifth month of her pregnancy.

encouragement to proceed further in their madness, a circumstance which I am sure you never avowed, according to the statement which you made to the ambassador of the King of France, my good brother, as otherwise. Which has been the reason why, being desirous of avoiding all dissimulation on my part with you, I have immediately (without farther regarding the thorn in my foot) cited Randolph before me, in the presence of my council, and have forced him to avow the charge by the very person to whom he delivered the money, and whom he selected, among all others, to entrust him with the carriage of it.

I can obtain from him no other reply, except that he is your subject and servant, and that the taking cognizance of what is laid to his charge, belongs to you alone. Yet, although I might expect from you, that, having sent him hither to do good offices, and he having employed himself in a manner the very reverse, you would consider him unworthy to shelter himself under your commission, and to enjoy the privileges due to the faithful minister of a friendly prince and ally; I have, nevertheless, desired to use him with no other severity beyond sending him back to you with my letters, which will explain more fully the charges against him, whom I hope to despatch to you in five or six days, in order that you may direct concerning him what you may think proper. Yet, as, in order to excuse his conduct, he may tell you one thing instead of another, and perhaps to the very contrary and farthest from my meaning, I have ordered Melville, whom I despatched to you five or six days ago, to lay before you a true statement; to whom I beg you will give audience and credit. So, for the present, I conclude by offering my affectionate commendations to your favour, praying God to give you, madam, my good sister, a long and happy life.

From Lislebourg, this . . . of February.

Your very affectionate and faithful good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

Instructions to Lord Fleming.

[*Original.—Royal Library at Paris; Harlay MSS.* No. 189, fol. 209.]

From Carlisle, the 30th May, 1568.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MY LORD FLEMING FOR HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, DOWAGER OF FRANCE.

First,—Inform his majesty that, since the departure of Monsieur de Beaumont, knight of his order* (who was despatched to Carlisle in England on the 19th of this present month of May), where the said queen had been obliged to fly for the safety of her life, as he will have more fully narrated to his majesty, the said lady has received letters and advice from the Queen of England, who writes to her, to the effect that she had sent to France to demand from the king assistance and supplies of men and ammunition, to aid in restoring and replacing her in the position and crown to which it had pleased God to call her. Of which assistance she could not in anywise be satisfied, and, although she might not disapprove of it, those of her council never would be content with it, alleging that it would be more detrimental to the one than beneficial to the other; but, although she advised her to adopt another course, which is, to make use of none other than her, and she would provide her with men, money, artillery, and other necessaries, in case that the Earl of Murray, and others of his party, would not, at her request, agree to submit and come to such terms as might seem good to the said Queen of Scotland.

The said queen, seeing herself reduced to the necessity and affliction of which all are aware, and being in the kingdom of the said Queen of England (where she has been well enough and honourably treated, but nevertheless as a prisoner, since her entry therein), she is constrained to content herself, and accept of this offer for the present, and to reserve for another time the king and her friends in France: and she requests

---

* St. Michael.

his majesty will be pleased to weigh the whole well, and the other necessary points, which the said Lord Fleming may fully declare and lay before him.

Therefore, she at present sends to the said queen the Lords Herries and Fleming, two of her well-beloved and faithful subjects, to treat of and conclude this matter, and thereafter the said Lord Fleming will go to France, to inform the said king of the success and issue of it.

Following this resolution, if needs be, to explain to the said most Christian king, that, in the position in which the said queen is placed, she cannot and ought not to have recourse to any other than his majesty for support and assistance, very humbly entreating him, on her behalf, to lend her for this purpose two thousand infantry, and money to maintain five hundred light horsemen, with as much artillery and other ammunition as may be requisite for the recovery of her strongholds, which the said Lord Murray and his party have seized, and still occupy and keep possession of, whereof a memorandum will be made, to be delivered by the said Lord Fleming. With these forces will unite nearly all the nobility of the kingdom and subjects of the said queen, the majority of whom have to this day so well and valiantly done their duty, as behoves good and faithful subjects to their sovereign, that they merit all praise and great reward. They continue willingly to act in the same manner, whenever an opportunity presents itself.

If the said lady does not obtain the support of the Queen of England, as she has been promised by her, and if she is permitted to go abroad, she will wait respectfully upon the said king, and lay her complaints before him as underwritten. To the same effect, that he will please to order payment of her pension which is due to her for the last three years, making him aware of the straits in which she is placed. And, in the meanwhile, that it will be very proper and necessary to send a present supply of victuals and ammunition to the castle and town of Dumbarton.

Nevertheless, that the king will be pleased to write to the Queen of England, and thank her for the good treatment

which the said Queen of Scots has received in her kingdom, and for her other courtesies towards her. That he will please also to send his order to two or three of the nobility in Scotland whom the queen shall name, and whom she knows to have best deserved it, to reward them for the duty which they have done, and to increase their desire to continue to do so when occasion offers.

Give a hint to the said king of the trinkets and jewels belonging to her majesty, which she has been apprised have been sent out of the kingdom by the rebels for sale. And that, if he can discover any to be in France, the king will order them to be seized, and in the meanwhile forbid every one, whoever they may be, to purchase, meddle, or intromit with them in any manner.

Besides, inform his majesty that those of his guard and other Scotsmen in France exert themselves to their utmost, in enquiring and learning, by artful means, what has been done and agreed upon in all that relates to the said queen, and give regular information to her majesty's enemies; of which the said king may satisfy himself, if he pleases to cause them to be examined, under the advice of the Bishop of Glasgow. And to put a stop to that, her majesty anxiously entreats the king to order such disturbers of the peace to be arrested, and for the future to permit no one who comes to France, by sea or land, to enter, unless they have a passport, either from the said queen, or her lieutenants; and also, that he will receive no Scotsman into his guard, except such as shall have testimonials and certificates from the said queen, of their fidelity and good will to the service of the said king and the said lady.

Do not forget, by the way, to make known to the king the harsh treatment which Monsieur de Beaumont met with from the Scottish rebels, as he came from Hamilton to Dumfries to meet the queen; and how, in order to escape from their hands, he was compelled to give them money.

Inform his majesty of the good understanding which subsists between the enemies of the said queen and those who are rebels to his majesty, and that the one party does nothing without giving the other notice of it.

The aforesaid Lord Fleming will, moreover, do and say to his majesty all that he shall see and think proper, on all subjects, for the welfare and affairs of the said queen.

Given at Carlisle, this penultimate day of May, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight.

Marie R.

To the Cardinal of Lorraine.

[*Cotemporary copy.—British Museum; MSS. Sloane*, 3199, fol. 341.]

From Carlisle, the 21st June, 1568.

My uncle,—If you have not pity on me now, I may say with reason that it is all over with my son, my country, and myself; and that I shall be as ill off in another quarter of this country, as in Lochleven. I entreat you to consider that my enemies are few, and that all the rest of the nobility are with me; their people begin to desert them, had I ever so little support! For they know well that their quarrel is unjust, and that in Scotland and here, where I have little to say in reply to their calumnies and false reports, they are esteemed traitors and liars; and, on this account, they strive to prevent me from quitting the kingdom, and confine me here. Those whom the queen sends to put a stop to and pursue my enemies, on the contrary aid and abet them; so that they, as it were, hold me until the others have beat me, although I have offered to prove them false accusers and myself innocent, as the bearer of this will inform you, to whom I shall trust myself in consequence of the credit which I give him. I beseech you to hasten to send us some support in earnest, as he will demonstrate to you the need of it which is felt by all my good servants (and these are not few), and, among others, poor Lord Seaton, who runs a risk of having his head cut off, for having assisted me to escape from prison. Treat Beaton well, for I dare not send for him till I am more secure; for they threaten that they will kill him if they can, and George Douglas, who has been removed from me also. Wherefore, I shall send him to you as soon as he can obtain a passport,

for which I have written to the French ambassador; for they have prevented Lord Fleming, who is there, from going to the king. If George goes, I will send you, at full length, an account of their conduct and mine, since the beginning of the troubles; for he has heard their fine account of me, and I shall inform him of the rest. I commend him to you; give him honourable maintenance. For otherwise very few will cast away their friends, to serve me at the risk of their lives. He is faithful; of that I assure you, and that he will do what you bid him. I entreat you, send frequently to enquire for the duke;* for his relatives have served me extremely well, and, if they are not rescued, there are eight gentlemen, all of his name, condemned to be hung, and their houses razed to the ground: for every one who does not obey them is guilty of the crime which they themselves have committed. From day to day they openly invent falsehoods against me, and secretly offer to say no more evil of me, if I will yield to them the government. But either I shall die, or they shall confess that they have invented all the villanies which they have cast against me. I now commit myself to the competency of the bearer hereof, and beseech you to have compassion for the honour of your poor niece, and provide the assistance which the bearer will mention to you; and, in the meantime, send money, for I have not wherewith to purchase bread, nor linen, nor clothes.

The queen has sent me hither a little linen, and provides me with one dish. The rest I have borrowed, but I cannot do so any more. You will participate in this disgrace. Sandy Clerk, who was in France on behalf of this false bastard, boasts that you will neither provide me with money, nor meddle in my affairs. God tries me severely; however, rest assured that I shall die a Catholic: God will relieve me from these miseries very soon. For I have endured injuries, calumnies, imprisonment, famine, cold, heat, flight, not knowing whither, ninety-two miles across the country without stopping or alighting, and then I have had to sleep upon the

* Of Chatelherault.

ground, and drink sour milk, and eat oatmeal without bread, and have been three nights like the owls, without a female in this country, where, to crown all, I am little else than a prisoner. And, in the meanwhile, they demolish all the houses of my servants, and I cannot aid them; and hang their owners, and I cannot compensate them: and yet they all remain faithful to me, abominating these cruel traitors, who have not three thousand men at their command; and, if I had support, the one-half would assuredly leave them. I pray that God may send relief when it pleases Him, and that He may give you health and long life.

From Carlisle, this 21st of June.

Your humble and obedient niece,

Marie R.

I beg you will present my very humble remembrances to madame my aunt. I will write to her a week hence by George Douglas, who will go to inform her of my miserable state. I will not forget that when I parted from my people in Scotland, I promised to send them assistance at the end of August. For God's sake let them not be both denied and deceived! But send it to them with the duke, and some Frenchman of rank, and, among others, Captain Sarlabous would be much required. It is all one for myself, but let not my subjects be deceived and ruined; for I have a son, whom it would be a pity to leave in the hands of these traitors.

Commission of Lieutenant-Governor of the Kingdom to the Duke of Chatelherault.

[*Cotemporary copy.—British Museum*; *MSS. Sloane*, 3199, fol. 174.]

From Carlisle, the 12th July, 1568.

Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland, dowager of France. Know ye, that we, being pursued by some of our rebellious subjects, have been compelled, after the loss of a battle, to take refuge in this country of England, where we are detained by means of these rebels; who, not being con-

tent with having murdered our husband, have made us prisoner, charging us falsely with the knowledge of the murder of our husband, perpetrated by themselves, as has been sufficiently proved, thereby seeking to deprive us of our honour; have stolen our trinkets and jewels, seek after our life, and have made prisoner our son until he shall come of age, whom afterwards they may treat as they have done his father.

For which causes, and others, we have this day given and do give the office of our deputy and governor of our kingdom of Scotland to our cousin the Duke, giving him power, might, and authority to govern, command, act and rule, for the preservation of our said kingdom, as we could ourselves, and as he has previously done, during our minority.

Wherefore we desire and command all our faithful servants and subjects to obey him herein, aiding and assisting him with all their might, as if we were there in person, to avenge the murder committed by these rebels, and the injuries which they presently do to us and our son. We also entreat all kings and Christian princes to lend him such favour and assistance as may enable him to guard and maintain our just cause.

In witness whereof we have signed these presents with our hand, and thereto affixed our seal, at Carlisle, in England, this twelfth day of July, one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight.

Marie R.

To the Earl of Mar.

[*Original.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii.]

From Bolton, 17th December, 1568.

My Lord of Mar,—The natural affection which I bear to my son, and the preservation of that which it has pleased God to commit to my charge, induces me to write this letter to apprise you of matters which I doubt not are concealed from you, or at least are misrepresented by those in whom you repose the greatest confidence. My son is to be removed

from your care and sent into this country, and Stirling Castle committed to a garrison of foreigners. You know that I have entrusted both to you, from the confidence which I have had in you and all belonging to you; and although by the persuasion of others you have for some time past failed in that goodwill which you had towards me, yet I cannot believe but that you still retain some feeling and memory of that which by deeds I have shewn to you, and that, if you are unwilling to acknowledge it in my person, you will at least in that of my son, of whom I entreat you to have that care to which your own honour and the love which you owe to your country bind you. Look betimes to the safety of the place, and take care that my son be not stolen from you, and you be not circumvented; for what I have written is certain and true, and is so arranged, and only remains to be executed. I believe that you have no relative whose cupidity and ambition to reign would induce you to consent to the ruin and desolation of your country, and to see it miserably delivered up as the tributary and slave of another, as it will be, unless God by his goodness and mercy destroys the wicked designs of those who lay such schemes and intrigues, thinking by such means to aggrandise themselves, and attain to their own private ends. And therefore assuring myself that with your prudence and sound judgment this simple hint will suffice to put you on your guard, and show you still more clearly the truth of the case, I conclude this by praying God to grant you, my Lord of Mar, all that you most desire.

From Bolton Castle, this 17th day of December, 1568.

Your very good friend,

Marie R.

P.S. *(Autograph)*.—Remember that when I delivered to you my son, as my most precious jewel, you promised to protect him, and give him up to no one without my consent; as you have since also promised to me in your letters.

Statement by Queen Mary, presented by her Commissioners at the Conferences.

[*Original.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. iii.]

The 9th January, 1568-69.

As to the abdication of my crown, concerning which you have written to me, I beg that you will trouble me no more on that point; for I am resolved and determined to die sooner than do so; and the last word which I shall utter in this life shall be that of a Scottish Queen, for the following and other more cogent reasons moving me thereto.

In the first place, the Commissioners on both sides being assembled in this country about the differences between me and some of my subjects, every one's eye is bent upon the result of this convention to pronounce judgment according to it, whether it be in favour of or adverse to the parties; and if it should happen that after having come into this kingdom to seek assistance, and having complained of being unjustly expelled from my kingdom, I should concede to my enemies all that they choose to exact from me, what would the public say, but that I have been my own judge and have condemned myself? Whence it will follow that all the reports which have been raised against me will be held to be true and well-founded, and that I shall be held in special abhorrence by all the people of this island.

And although it shall be demonstrated to the nobility, who support some of my subjects more than they do me, that I have been desirous to make such abdication in favour of my son, who is not old enough to be able to govern,—so far from that making them think me innocent of what is laid to my charge, they will interpret it quite to the contrary, and say that it is from fear of being publicly arraigned, and from a conviction of my own guilt and of having a bad case, that I prefer to pay rather than to plead, and thereby save myself from condemnation.

Alas, if I had abdicated, and if, through the suggestion of my enemies or otherwise, the Queen of England wished me to submit to whatever laws or the jurisdiction of such judges

as seemed good to her, she would have a pretext for so doing, as I should be no more than a private individual, and thus I should be by my own act thrown into a great and eminent danger while seeking to shun a lesser. Moreover, if it should happen (which God forbid!) that, during my residence in this kingdom, the Queen of England, my good sister, should die without issue, those who contended for the crown would be enabled, seeing the small account in which I should be held, to seize my person, and under the pretence aforesaid, do that which perhaps my said good sister would not have thought of.

Also, if it should happen that my son were to die before being of age to govern and succeed, my crown would fall into other hands, and neither myself, nor others born of me, could regain it. And besides that I should find myself so miserably destitute, I should be in perpetual fear of my life, for whosoever should be seated on my throne would never rest until he was assured by my death, and that of as many of those as, after me, he should feel to have more right to it than himself, so many similar things having come to pass, that their examples supply me with sufficient reasons for expecting no less to happen to myself. By means of such abdication, I should lose all assistance and favour at home and abroad, for I make no doubt that the ancient alliance of France would not be ratified with him who should reign; and I, being a private person, and perhaps in the power of those who would not wish readily to provoke it, there would be risk of my receiving injury long before they would seem to be affected by it. And as for my subjects who have an affection for me, if they saw that I deserted them, they would seek protection elsewhere, and I could never hope to regain them. If they allege that it is for their particular interest, let it be so, and so much the more I am sure that they would not part from me; and if I leave them, some other will take them,—I mean, will give them assistance and support, and we must not expect that there will be peace in my kingdom, but on the contrary two factions, who perchance may be fostered by some in this country for some particular objects; and although things may

be done on both sides in name of my son, it will always happen that they will come to different ends, and that he will never have entire obedience, from which will follow the division, and perhaps the complete ruin of my kingdom.

These dangers are evident, wherefore I am determined that I shall not lightly throw away what God has given to me, and that I am resolved rather to die a queen, than a private woman.

Endorsed in the handwriting of Cecil:—" 1568, 9 Janua: die Domini.—French wrytyng delyvered by y[e] Scott. Q. Ambassad."

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Cotemporary Copy.—British Museum, London, MSS. Harl.* 4643, fol. 30.]

From Ripon, the 27th January [1569].

Madam, my good sister,—Being forced to leave the place where I have resided till the present moment, without having been able to obtain delay to settle the affairs of my country, from which I am removed by violence and to my great regret, as I desire you to know, with the considerations which move me, to my sorrow, to refuse to follow so readily, which I never intended to contravene, except to obtain leisure to settle my affairs, as I wrote to my Commissioners to inform you more at length on my part, to increase my vexation and many others, I have in this place heard of the displeasure which you are pleased to entertain against me and my said Commissioners. As regards the proclamations, I swear upon my faith that they have heard nothing about them, and that I myself have never seen their contents. I wrote to them that I had heard that Murray and his accomplices had made such offers, and that they should issue proclamations to apprise the people that they did not agree with him, and should write to Lord Mar, reminding him of the promise which he had made me never to deliver up my son without my consent. This information came to me from Scotland with the copy of a letter which they said you had written to

my rebels before they came into this country. Madam, I have never wished to offend you, but I shall take it ill if my child should be delivered up without my consent, by those who have so little right to dispose of him. Consider, Madam, I am a mother, and of an only child: I hope that you will pardon me, seeing that I blame no one but my rebels for venturing such things. Wherefore, you will please not to blame my Commissioners for that of which they are innocent, but permit them to return like the rest with your good pleasure, and permit one or two to remain with me, to assist me in my affairs, for else I can listen to no proposition of agreement or otherwise.

As to the other letters, I know nothing about them, and have never written such silly things, even if I had imagined them; wherefore, if you please to enquire, you will find nothing either of my ordering, or of my hand, or letters. Of the rest of my grievances and harsh treatment in my forcible removal, the Bishop of Ross and others will give you a full account, and also I have written to Mr. Cecil touching these letters more at length, not to trouble you with too long a letter; except, after presenting my humble commendations to your favour, I pray God to give you, Madam my good sister, in health a long and happy life.

From Ripon, this 27 January.

Your affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Original.—British Museum, London, MSS. Cotton, Caligula, C. I.* fol. 290.

From Pontefract, the 28 January, 1569.

Mr. Cecil,—Having heard that my enemies have conveyed to you some copies of my letters and proclamations lately issued among my subjects, with which the Queen, my good sister, and some of you in particular, have found fault; I have been anxious to write to you, explaining what portion of these is mine, believing that neither my said good sister, nor any one of you, will find offence in it.

The truth is, that the siftings and negotiations of the Earl of Murray, and of those who during this conference were with him, to make merry with their companions at home on the success of the affairs of their leader and his associates, and to strengthen my rebels and their rebellion and disloyalty, and by the same means to discourage my good and obedient subjects, and detach them from the allegiance which they bear to me, sowing sundry reports in my kingdom, among others that evidently I had lost my case, and that they ran no risk in accusing me without articles, and were assured that thereafter I would not have the means of succeeding therein, and that so far from my receiving support from my said good sister, that the Earl of Murray would be favoured and established more securely than ever in my patrimony, on delivering up my son and the fortresses. This was reported to me by several of my good subjects, to which at first I paid no more attention than to the many falsehoods which they maliciously averred ever and anon, and made their own of them; but seeing latterly, by the accounts which I received from some of my council in Scotland and the nobility who adhered to my cause, that they attributed the disregard which I paid to it to an indifference to them and my own affairs, I was obliged to take these things into consideration, comparing them with the strange and barbarous cruelty of my rebels, who, in return for the many benefits which they had received from me, openly sought to deprive me of my crown, my life, and my honour; their admittance to the presence of the Queen, my good sister, where they accused me falsely, and the refusal which, to my great grief of heart, I met with of a similar favour, which I desired more than anything in the world, that I might there declare my innocence. In this perplexity and anguish, wherein I have had no comfort except in God and the constancy and fidelity of my good subjects, I could not do less than make a shew of approving a part of these informations, to satisfy those from whom I had received them, and by their advice and counsel confirm the rest of my obedient subjects in the goodwill and allegiance that they still had inviolate for me. But I can truly assure you that

whatever may have been shewn to you, my intention has never been in anywise to trench upon the honour of my good sister, whom, after God, I consider the defence and protection of my life, my estate and my honour; nor of that of any of her good servants and ministers, of whose good will towards me I make no doubt, from respect to my said good sister, and because I am so nearly allied to her in blood: their loyalty and the duty of a grave and honourable council answering thereto.

I believe that those who provided you with the said copies could equally well have given you the originals, by means of which you would have been more content. As for the one which has been shewn to me, I will not say that it has been added to, but that I did not write that letter at all. Mine were simply addressed to some of the nobility of my kingdom, tending solely to maintain my good subjects in their allegiance. How the proclamations have been amplified, I do not know, and assure you that I did not even see the originals. And if there is in them aught that can offend any but my rebels, I am very sorry for it, and extremely displeased. Wherefore, I beg that this may not lessen the goodwill which I have always considered you bore to me, and that you will believe that it has been done without the advice and counsel of any of my people in this country, but in the manner I mention.

I have been informed that the Commissioners who are with the Queen my good sister, are charged with having given me such informations; and I assure you upon my faith and honour that they are so wrongfully, and that none of them, or any of their retinue, have written or told me anything whatever. So I pray God to have you, Mr. Cecil, in his high and holy keeping.

Written at Pomfray [Pontefract] the 28th of January, 1569.

Your very good friend,

Marie R.

Addressed:—To Monsieur de Cecil, chief secretary to the Queen my good sister.

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Autograph.—British Museum, London, MSS. Cotton, Caligula, C. I.* fol. 325.

From Tutbury, the 1st October [1569].

Madam, my good Sister,—Perceiving by a suspicion taken of me, my sudden removal and change of keepers, and treatment of my servants, at the time when I hoped, according to your promises, to receive your favourable determination in my affairs, I could only lament that my confidence in you, and my friendship and desire to please you, have brought me a result so unhoped for and evil, in reward for my long forbearance: which always thinking to remedy by displaying to you the sincerity of my intention in all my actions towards you, I had requested permission to write to you by one of my faithful servants, in the hope that when you knew my innocence you would treat me differently. But that was refused to me; which has made me venture to send to the Bishop of Ross, to give him this charge. But now seeing the severity increased, so as to compel me to dismiss my poor servants without giving them the means of going where out of respect of me they might have their livelihood, but to force them to throw themselves into the hands of the rebels, to be hanged; leaving me only twenty men, unless I choose to dismiss my women without knowing whither, without money or protection, so far from their country and in such a season; by which number it is impossible for me to be served, for the reasons which the Bishop of Ross will explain to whom you please;—that appeared to me far more severe than I ever would have expected from you: and farther, the more grievous prohibition, that I may receive no letter or message, nor intelligence of my affairs in Scotland, which are in such extremity from my having waited for your promise of having them briefly dispatched: nor even is it allowed me to hear of those in France, or of the health of the princes my friends or kinsmen, who rely, as I have done, upon your favour towards me. Instead of which, they have forbid me to go out, and have rifled my trunks, entering my chamber with pistols and arms, not without putting me in bodily fear, and accusing

my people, rifle them and place them under arrest; still I should have thought that in all this finding nothing which could affect or displease you, I should thereafter have experienced better treatment. But seeing that such is the life I lead, with the prospect of its being worse, I presume to address to you this last request, containing the following:

First, that if you do not find the statement of the Bishop of Ross satisfactory, you will permit me to satisfy you in person. Secondly, that you will be pleased, without longer putting me off for the sake of others, to restore me to my own country and authority by your support, or to permit me, according to my former request, to retire to France to the Most Christian King my brother-in-law: or, at least, that during my imprisonment I may have liberty to communicate with the Bishop of Ross and other ministers necessary to settle my affairs; and that to these my affectionate requests you will send a reply, either by one of my own people, or by letter from yourself.

And lastly, if you please to detain me your prisoner, I entreat you at least to put a ransom upon me, and not leave me to waste away here in tears and complaints caused by the disease for which I came to seek the remedy. But if it please you to use me harshly without my having deserved it, at least let me not be placed in the hands of any one suspicious to my friends and relations, for fear of false reports, or worse than I should wish to think of any one.

And hoping that you will consider these my complaints and requests according to conscience, justice, your laws, your honour, and the satisfaction of all Christian princes, I shall pray God to give you a happy and long life, and me a better share in your favour than to my sorrow I perceive that I have, whereto I shall commend myself affectionately to the end.

From my prison at Tutbury, this 1st of October.

Your very affectionate distressed sister and cousin,

MARIE.

Addressed:—To the Queen of England, my good sister and cousin.

To Monsieur de La Mothe Fenelon.

[*Copy.—Archives of the Kingdom, at Paris, Carton des Rois*, K. No. 95.]

From Tutbury, the 15th January, 1570.

Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon,—I thank God from the bottom of my heart that the affairs of the king, my good brother, prosper more and more, as you have informed me by your letter of the 7th of this month, which was yesterday delivered to me by the Earl of Shrewsbury. The reply which you write to me you made at your last audience of the queen, my good sister, has pleased me greatly, and so has somewhat lessened the fear in which for some days past I have been, and still am, in consequence of information given me that the person who calls himself Abbot of Dunfermline* endeavoured lately by all means to prevail upon the said Queen, my good sister, and her council, to send me back to Scotland, and deliver me into the hands of my rebels. What has passed and been settled between them, you must know better than I.

I am informed that another messenger† arrived on the part of my said rebels eight days ago, whom I cannot believe to have been sent here but for a similar or worse purpose: which induces me at present to write to the said Queen, my good sister, entreating her that if she refuses all the requests which I have made to her in many of my former letters, of which I am sure the Bishop of Ross has shewn you the copies, she will at least, to relieve me from such fears for my life, write to me a letter in her own hand, promising me that she will not for the future listen to such designs, and assuring me that she will never put me in a place where my said rebels

* George Dury, archdeacon of St. Andrews, styled himself abbot of Dumfermline in 1530, and continued to take that title during the life of Archbishop James Beaton. After his death he acted as abbot or commendator. He went to France in 1560, and it is uncertain if he ever returned. See Preface to the "Registrum de Dunfermelyn," by Mr. Cosmo Innes, printed for the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1842, 4to. page 16.

† Elphinstone, whom Murray sent to propose the exchange of the Earl of Northumberland for Mary Stuart.

might have power over me; but that she will speedily take some good and honourable resolution in my affairs, according to the promise which she lately made to you. I have written also to the aforesaid Bishop of Ross, to entreat for the said letter, who will communicate to you all that I have written to him, and will shew you the copy of the letter which I wrote to the said Queen my good sister. I pray you to aid and assist him as far as you can to impetrate this my more than reasonable request, and to mark well what answer he receives, that you may inform the said King my brother of it. And in case that that is refused me, and that the said Queen, my good sister, makes me no answer now, any more than she has done to all the other letters which I have sent to her for the last four months, that you supplicate him on my behalf to take my affairs in such a manner under his protection, that at least my poor subjects, oppressed by my rebels, may soon by his means receive the comfort and assistance which I wish for them as heartily as for myself; and that not only he will be pleased to use his own interest, but that he will demand the assistance and support of all other Christian princes, his friends and allies, and mine. And so I pray the Creator, Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, to keep you always in his grace.

From Tutbury, this 15th January, 1570.

Your very good friend,

Marie R.

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Copy.—Archives of the Kingdom at Paris, Cartons des Rois,* K. No. 95.]

From Chatsworth, the 16th October, 1570.

Madam, my good sister,—I have received the letters which you were pleased to write to me by Mr. Cecil your secretary, and Mr. Mildmay the chancellor of your exchequer, which have produced in me two contrary effects; the one of displeasure to see by them your mistrust of my sincere intentions, and the other of pleasure that your long silence is

broken by your letters aforesaid, and your mind so far laid open by them that inasmuch as you have been pleased to instruct your trusty councillors to communicate with me on your part, I have some little room to hope, instead of despair, for some good and speedy determination of my affairs, so long expected by me; in which hope I am much confirmed in that you have been pleased to send to me two of your most agreeable and faithful councillors. From whom having learned your pleasure, and such particulars as you charged them to communicate to me, I have so freely discussed with them every point, that I trust it will satisfy you, and prove my affection to you, that on my part there remains no longer any scruple to obstruct our sincere and reciprocal friendship, which I prefer to that of any other prince. In proof of which I consent to place in your hands the most valued jewel which God has given me in this world, and my sole comfort,—my only and dear son; whose education, desired by several, is entrusted to you, and by him and me preferred before all others to your good pleasure. According to which I have willingly agreed to all obligations reasonably required, the more readily so that my intention is sincere to observe the conditions agreed upon between us, resolving henceforward to cast anchor and terminate my weary voyaging in the haven of your natural good will towards me. Having recourse, instead of a pledge, to the merit of my humble submission and obedience, which I offer to you as if I had the honour of being your daughter, as I have that of being your sister and nearest cousin, and yielding to none in obeying and honouring you now as heretofore, if you please to accept me as entirely yours. In return for which I respectfully desire the favour of your presence, which will afford indubitable assurance of your perpetual favour henceforward, and hope to induce me never to swerve from your pleasure and command. And although by your letters and messages I can depend upon your goodwill and favour, nevertheless the favour of your presence and your own word alone can stop the mouths of all those who either may vilify or try to break our treaty, esteeming it defective as wanting such an evidence of good

faith between us. For how are they to judge of us, seeing that we agree in all other points, and that I have been more than two years in your power, if I return without obtaining admission to your presence; except that there is some deep-rooted displeasure in your heart towards me, seeing a similar refusal has never been made to any sovereign, so far from between a relative so near, and one who is so desirous to please you?

Then, Madam my good sister, do not refuse this my very humble request to see you before my departure, so as to remove from me all fear of being undeservedly in your disfavour; and thus, relying altogether on your goodwill, I shall have an indissoluble bond of friendship between us twain sufficient to shut the mouths of our mutual enemies who might pretend to the contrary; and, by the same means, I shall discover to you the secrets of my heart, of which I have given some insight, but darkly, to Mr. Cecil your secretary; reserving, however, the chief point to that truly happy day so much desired by me, with the deference which I begged him to communicate to you on my behalf. Hoping that, having heard from your two trusty councillors and my ambassador, whom I send to you with them hourly to receive your good pleasure and contentment, the sincerity with which I desire to proceed to satisfy you on all points, you will accede to my affectionate request. I shall devote myself more and more to love, honour, and obey you, which I am resolved to do nevertheless; and, if you please so to favour me, I would beg of you first of all to command me when you please, where you please, in what company, to remain as secretly, as long or as short, without seeing or being seen but by you, with whom alone I have to do; of which God is my witness that I have no other design but to convince you, and assure myself of your favour without prejudice to any one, but to your satisfaction and my great consolation, which I desire after God from you. Whom I pray to move your heart to receive graciously the offer which I make of mine, and that he may give you, Madam my good sister, a long and very happy life.

From Chatsworth, the 16th of October, 1570.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.]

From Sheffield, the 7th January [1571].

The Queen of England shows by her actions that she is resolved rather to maintain my rebels and my kingdom in the melancholy state in which it is, than to yield to any agreement, or set me at liberty, whatsoever she has said to the King by his ambassador. And if by force or by fear she comes not to reason, we can only expect at her hands dissimulation and mockery. The Queen Mother has written to me that the King is determined to assist me, if the said Queen of England does not keep her promise to him; and therefore do not cease to demand the said assistance, and do so much at least that some preparations for sending into Scotland should be apparent, and that he no longer allows himself to procrastinate on the word of the Queen of England. For so long as she sees that the King tarries upon that, she will spin matters out, and make use of the time, as she has been accustomed to do. Represent the conduct of the Earl of Lennox, who has neither forces nor means but such as she gives him; and who only plays the part which she makes him perform, as Randolph is always with him, without whose counsel and advice he dares undertake nothing.

You may have heard that at their late pretended parliament the Laird of Grange would not deliver to them the crown or the sceptre. Since that he is in such a state of hostility with them, that if he once felt sure of support, however small it might be, he would render me signal service. Besides, entreat the King to inform the Queen of England that, from the accounts which he has received of my indisposition and the treatment which I receive, he desires to send and keep resident henceforward near me some person of distinction who might give him an account of it, and relieve him from the doubt, which by the said accounts and other like reports he might entertain, contrary to the expectation (as he believes) and wish of the said Queen of England. This, perhaps, would make her ashamed of boasting so impudently as she does, of the treatment which I receive at her hands;

which she persuades the people of this country, even Catholics, is the best and most friendly in the world; and yet there is not a single rudeness nor indignity which I have not already experienced at their hands. Which is the reason why she does not wish to set me at liberty. This would also make her expedite the arrangement by the suspicion, which she would instantly have, that the chief reason why the King wished to send the said person hither was to interpose in the said arrangement, and to undo it or traverse her designs. And therefore, as soon as he can do so, it appears to me that it will be good for him to make the said proposal by demanding a passport for the person whom he intends to send.

Written at Sheffield, the 7th January.

The Catholics have been in great distress on account of my illness; and the fear which they have of losing me will, if he sends some assistance to Scotland, cause them to take the opportunity of throwing themselves on that side. They have no hope of recovery except from God and me. I have been much relieved by the presents which Raulet has brought to me, which have come very seasonably; for in place of them I must have given money, and the cost would have been double at the least. I wish much that twice the amount might be sent again to me, for it is of great use to me. I pray you to see that a supply of money is obtained for me,—as much as possible. The stay which the physicians have made here, now a month past, and the defraying of the commissioners, who are at my expense, will run off with a great deal, and in whatever direction matters turn, I shall have enough to do with it, whether the arrangement is made or not. If Lord Seton is still in Flanders, write to him promptly that I beg him to hasten the transmission of the money to Scotland, for the Castle has need of it.* I enclose herein a note which you will convey to him, and I leave to you to inform him of what concerns me and my affairs.

Postscript by Raulet.—I have somehow heard that there is a disagreement between the lawyer and the solicitor, but I have not yet learned on which side it is, or what is the

* Edinburgh Castle.

point. I clearly see that the Bishop of Ross has now a grudge towards the said solicitor, whom I believe he has endeavoured to injure; but what moves him is only the intimacy which that gentleman has with you. I wish for many reasons that he were with his master, to whom I beg you to persuade him to repair if possible. I would that Mr. Beton, your brother, would make haste to come, either with the intention of remaining, or travelling with the opportunity of dispatches.

Your humble and affectionate servant.

To the Duke of Alva.

[*Autograph.—Imperial Archives at Vienna.*]

From Sheffield, 18th February [1571].

My cousin,—Having so good an opportunity of informing you at length of my affairs here, to which it is necessary that you put your hand, there is no need of a longer letter than to request you to give credence to the bearer* in what he will tell you, both as relates to me and to other matters, in the same manner as you would to myself. Trusting myself to his capabilities, and in consideration of the great weakness to which I am reduced by a long illness, I shall conclude the present, after commending myself to your favour, by praying to God that he may give you, my cousin, in health a long and happy life.

From Sheffield, this 18th of February.

Your very good cousin,

Marie R.

Addressed:—To my cousin, Mons. the Duke of Alva.

To La Mothe Fenelon.

[*Copy.—Archives of the Kingdom at Paris, Cartons des Rois,* K. No. 95.]

From Sheffield, the 4th March, 1571.

Monsieur de la Mothe Fénélon,—I have heard as news the

* Robert Ridolfi.

charge upon which the Queen of England, my good sister, complains that my uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Nuncio and the Archbishop of Glasgow, have proposed to the Duke of Anjou to make an attack upon Ireland, as I made, two years ago, to him in whose favour was ceded the claim which I can pretend to this crown, which they reported to her I had done to the said Duke of Anjou. Both may have been forged in the same shop and for the same end, inasmuch as we were then in view of an agreement, as we are at the present time; but just as my said good sister found at last that the former was feigned and invented, so she might assure herself that this one is the same, and therefore ought not to take advantage of it to delay the treaty, as I think she will not do, since she has declared to you that the fear which she has that the said Bishop of Glasgow came hither rather to interrupt than to advance it, is the reason, with the aforesaid report, why she refuses his passport. The present solicitation made to her on the part of the King, my good brother, and on mine, of agreeing to the said treaty and delaying it no longer, ought, it appears to me, to give her no reason to dread in that particular the aforesaid Bishop of Glasgow, or any of my servants or ministers. I write to the Bishop of Ross that, satisfying her on both these doubts, he may again entreat her to grant the said passport; and I beg you, Monsieur de la Mothe Fénélon, again to lend your assistance to the same effect. I can answer for it that neither my uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, nor the Nuncio, ever spoke of it in any sort to Monsieur, the King's brother, for they would either have informed me or caused me to be informed of it; and it would indeed be very strange if my ambassador had been so open without my knowledge, or at least that he had not apprised me of the refusal.

I shall send your letter to M. de Vérac, and you will receive one from him by the bearer. Master George Buchanan, who was engaged to write against me to please the late Earl of Murray and my other rebels, and who perseveres in his obstinacy and evil disposition by all the demonstrations in his power, has been engaged as preceptor for my son:

which situation, for the above and other reasons, I do not desire that he should be permitted to retain, or that my son should learn anything out of his book. Wherefore, I pray you to use your influence with the Queen of England, my good sister, that at her request, wherein she will not be refused, another may be substituted for him. The said Buchanan is aged, and henceforward has more need of a quiet situation than to annoy himself with a child. And so, Monsieur de la Mothe Fénélon, I pray God to give you the utmost of your wishes.

From Sheffield, this 4th March, 1671.

Your very good friend,

Marie R.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 4th March [1571].

The Queen of England has refused your passport, saying that my uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Nuncio and you, have proposed to the Duke of Anjou to make a descent upon Ireland, and that she has the whole matter in writing. I cannot imagine that the love and understanding is already so great between them,* that he would seek to do me this evil turn, even although you had spoken of it to him. She says that the aforesaid Duke of Anjou, and the King of France, and the Queen Mother, would not listen to it, for which she feels very much obliged, and has requested M. de La Mothe to thank them on her behalf. Let them know from me, that I can never think that such information has been given to her with their consent; for that would be sufficient to make me lose all hope of their favour and support, and that I entreat them to make such demonstration and statement as the circumstance demands. She is so full of fraud, that one cannot too sharply check it. It is just of a piece with what she said, two years ago, that I had ceded my right to this crown to the

---

* Alluding to the proposed marriage at that time in course of negotiation between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou.

said Duke of Anjou. If you have said nothing on the subject, request the said Duke to acquit you of it in presence of the ambassadors, and beg them to write concerning it. She uses the fairest words, which she never performs, and promises that she will proceed with the treaty, and replace me in my kingdom; and yet, underhand, she endeavours to get possession of Edinburgh Castle, attempts to bribe the governor, and tries to establish the Earl of Sussex in the government of Scotland, having sounded whether Grange would agree to this, by a person named Harrington, whom she sent to the Earl of Lennox, who, as if from himself, made this among other proposals to him. Morton designs to return to the regency, and has a promise, as I am informed, from those who still adhere to me, that (should this occur) they will go over to him. These are proofs that the intentions of this Queen are very different from her words, and that I ought not pay attention to any treaty, but should provide for the two castles as soon as possible. Grange sends his brother to the King of France to assure him of his goodwill, having heard that this Queen boasts that he will do for her more than for me or my son. On the refusal which he gave to the said Harrington, Lennox assures himself of having forces, and that this Queen will attempt the plans which he has in hand. Entreat the King of France to receive the said Castle under his protection, and to provide Grange with heavy ammunition and provisions. He only asks five hundred men to defend the place, hold the city at my command, and the country as far as the border and the gates of Stirling. He is entirely at my service, and I am sure that he will do anything to compensate for all his past faults. I pray you to assist his brother, and take in hand, so far as possible, that he may be supported.

We must also think about Dumbarton, and if there are no other means, some of my own private money must be sent thither.

Lord Fleming complains much of Mr. Thomas, as I believe you have heard from his letters; cause him to be brought before the Council, and make him give an account of that

which he has received on the other side. And, above all, I entreat you, my Lord of Glasgow, to give orders that I may have money; for if ever I had need of it, it is now, and I assure you that it will be well employed. I am very anxious that you should accomplish your journey, and have written to the Bishop of Ross and M. de La Mothe Fénélon to make a fresh application for your support. I have myself written about it to this Queen, and believe that she will grant it.

Written at Sheffield the 4th of March.

As soon as the book* regarding my title is printed, it will be proper to send some copies to the Bishop of Ross, for it will do much good in this parliament.

Endorsed:—Received the 12th of March, 1571.

To Monsieur de La Mothe Fenelon.

[*Original decipher.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. viii.]

Without date [March 1571.]

. . . . Still I should think it the more strange, if it were true that Monsieur† had revealed the proposal. It appears to me that the Queen of England would think, if such information had come to her from a quarter like that, that I might well despair of all assistance and favour from the king and him; I shall never believe it. I beg you will tell them this, so that they may be pleased to make such a declaration as the cause demands, since the Queen of England has so far told you of it. Besides, I am informed that the Earls of Leicester and Sussex and L.‡ have instructed the mayor of Berwick to gain over Grange, the governor of Edinburgh Castle; and that a gentleman of the name of Harrington, who by order of the said Queen has been with Lennox, has made several overtures to him, among others that he should consent to the Earl of Sussex being Regent of Scotland. The Bishop of Ross, to whom I send the same

---

* "A Defence of the Honour of Mary Queen of Scotland, with a Declaration of her Right, Title, and Interest to the Crown of England," 1571, Liège, small 8vo.

† The Duke of Anjou. ‡ Lord Burleigh.

ciphers which I have received, will communicate the other particulars to you. You can consider what to say, and if there is deceit in the fine words which they have given us. It is said that upon the refusal of Grange, Lennox is confident of having troops from England, and is to attempt a certain design that he has in hand against the said Castle. The Earl of Morton expects to return as Regent to Scotland, and, in that event, has been promised the support of my adherents. I make no doubt that the said Morton is a sworn Englishman, and that the Queen of England, failing to establish there Sussex or any other of her own people, will depend upon Morton as a native Englishman entirely at her command. She has managed so well for herself by sending her deputies to me, as to have made it appear that she was willing to agree to a treaty, and restore me to my kingdom; that the dread of this is the reason why the said Morton, Marr, who has the care of my son, and others who feel themselves to be the most ungrateful, and to have most highly offended me, seek [to oppose it. I pray you] to mention all this to the King, that he may be pleased with all speed to supply Edinburgh Castle with money, ammunition, and provisions. For upon that presently depends the preservation or the loss of my kingdom. My Lord Fleming writes to me that Thomas Fleming has very ill discharged his duty in remitting to him at Dunbarton what he has received in France. I beg you will mention this in the proper quarter, that he may be called before the Council to give an account of it.

Memorandum given to John Hamilton for the Duke of Alva.

[*Cotemporary Copy.—Archives at Brussels.*]

From Sheffield, the 20th March, 1571.

REPLY UPON THE CREDENCE SHOWN BY JOHN HAMILTON ON THE PART OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF ALVA, UNDER THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND AUTHORITY OF A LETTER OF AUDIENCE DATED THE 11TH DAY OF FEBRUARY LAST, AND RECEIVED THE 11TH OF THIS MONTH.

In the first place, I thank the Duke of Alva very sincerely

for his good will, of which I had never any doubt, and am very sorry that any of my ministers have occasioned to the said Duke of Alva mistrust or coolness in the good understanding between us, of which no one but himself could convince me, having never sent to him any but those whom I thought were people of consideration, and had proved themselves my faithful servants. Whose behaviour being suspicious or disagreeable to him, I am resolved to adopt such steps as he shall advise me, and to take care to have between us for the future such mutual correspondence as it shall please him to dictate, in respect of the confidence which I have in his good disposition towards me, who desire to honour and follow his advice, as a peer and faithful counsellor of the King of Spain, my good brother, the defender and refuge of the Catholic Church, for the defence of which I am willing at this instant to peril my life, my kingdom, my wealth and honour in this island. And the reasons why I have sent these last ministers, of whom he makes special mention, have been the following:

First, when I have written to the King of Spain, to the Duke of Alva, or to his ambassador, requesting the assistance of troops (according as the means presented themselves, which were not always at my choice, especially during the late troubles, in which time I had little negotiation except through my ambassador with his, resident here, not possessing on every occasion trustworthy messengers), they replied to me on all hands, and especially the said Duke of Alva, that I should try the goodwill of France, and might endeavour to make them put their hand to the work, and therefore France could not suspect them, and that then they would apply themselves on their part; and also that I should send to them such of the Scottish nobility who might be accredited by all the rest, and by me, to treat and give security to the Duke of Alva for the men and money whom he should there employ. Having considered these two points, I commanded my subjects to select one from among them, an honest man and of good family, in whom they might have confidence, who should have reputation at home and be less suspected abroad.

In obedience to which command, they chose Lord Seton; and informing me of it, requested that I should give him my letter of credence to guarantee the proposals which he was entrusted to make to the Duke of Alva on part of the nobility. I thought it better, before giving the credence, to make a proposal, whereby Seton might have it in his power to undertake my vindication and that of my country alone, or rather with such conditions as should seem best to the Duke of Alva; and at his departure, to exercise his own discretion, or otherwise act as had at first been arranged. If the Duke of Alva has evidence that the said Seton has shown either himself, or any other of my ministers, either indiscretion or opposition in what relates to this negotiation, I shall, on being apprised of it, issue the order undermentioned. This I do to manifest the sincerity of my views towards the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva in that point; and that the Duke of Alva has been unwilling to do anything against me, I feel so much the more obliged to him that often the good right requires assistance, and innocence an advocate and a good interpreter of good intention.

As regards money, I confess that I am infinitely indebted to him; and that without it, I and my affairs would have been in danger of ruin; but I think I should not be considered ungrateful when I have the means, as I have the hope, of letting him understand my particular designs, tending to the perpetual obligation, not of myself alone, but of all this island, to the King of Spain his master, and to him as the faithful executor of his orders, and, what is more to the honour of both, before God and the world, for many services rendered to the Catholics exiled from this country; and being confident of the same for the future, I return him the same thanks, and request him to continue it.

As for the advice which he gives me, not to follow the council of such ministers who persuade me to hold an opposite course to that which I have already professed to him, or to rely upon the fair words which are made to me, I shall reply briefly: I am, and shall be, of the sentiment which I have given him to understand, both by my former and late

ministers, and I request him not to doubt it. I seek assistance for my country of Scotland from all Christian princes; I complain to all, but I make offers only to one in particular, if it pleases him to advise us in it and accept it.

And as for the main thing which I claim—the crown of England—I have no cause to trust in it, or apply save to the King of Spain, and for that I am urged by him to pay fealty, and to the Duke of Alva when he wishes to treat with me, or receive my proposals, which I expect him to do, and not on my part alone. Besides, I am not ignorant of the secret manœuvres of those who pretend the contrary; but upon that I need not enter more at length, the Duke of Alva is wise enough. As for particulars, until I know that the Duke of Alva is satisfied upon the points aforesaid, I shall not enter upon them at present, except to say to him that I never thought the King of Spain would aid for any other respect than that of the religion in which I wish to live and die, and for the better and surer concord between these two neighbouring countries, at which on my part I also aim, as the offer of my son can testify, or to make no alliance or agreement to the contrary, except with the consent and good pleasure of the said King of Spain, whom, taking my cause in his hands, I am resolved to follow.

As for the treaty with the Queen of England, I hope that it will bring no disadvantage to me or mine; and as to that between her and me, the result is as I always expected: it is good for nothing. In respect of which, prompt assistance is extremely necessary for the cause of God, of me, and of mine: which I entreat the Duke of Alva to consider, and to apprise me at length of his intentions at all convenience, as I shall do the same.

Hamilton also tells me that the Duke of Alva desired to have a cipher which should be secret between us, I have sent him the one, and promise him the other, which is to be secret, and shall take the best care that I can to have safe messengers, as he writes to me to do. And if so be that the peculiarities of the said Hamilton have made me offended with him, yet I never thought of finding fault with him, because he is faithful or agreeable to the Duke of Alva; but

if he is so, I shall restore him to favour, and more readily do him good, for if he satisfies him, he does well in that which I desire that all the others should do, and, according to the testimony of the Duke of Alva, I shall conduct myself. It is true that the said Hamilton has rather discharged his duty ill, in neither writing so often, nor informing me so duly as his service required, and that I have also been displeased by his manner of injuring the credit (if it is true), of my ministers with the Duke of Alva.

At Sheffield, the 20th day of March,

The Queen of Scotland.

Postscript.—Hamilton has informed me of the good will which the Duke of Alva has to assist my poor friends on this side, whom generally I recommend, and the said Hamilton will, in particular, notify to him; since after God, they have no other refuge, save the King of Spain, and him.

Endorsed:—"Information for Hamilton."

Instructions given to Robert Ridolfi, sent to the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Alva.

[*Cotemporary decipher.—Secret Archives of the Vatican, at Rome.*]

Without date. [March, 1571.]

In the first place, to declare the miserable state of this island, and the prospect that there is of greater cruelty and tyranny against the Catholics, already so severely afflicted, unless God by his mercy and goodness sends speedy assistance, and suggests to the hearts of the Christian princes to embrace their cause; that the hope which the said Catholics at present have of seeing their religion restored, and themselves freed from captivity, is not founded upon other human aid, than from those who will advance my just claim of Queen of Scotland, which I have to both these kingdoms; because the Earls of Hertford* and Huntingdon† and others, that else

---

* The Earl of Hertford, who had privately married Catharine Grey, sister to the unfortunate Jane Grey.

† The Earl of Huntingdon, descended from the Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

could pretend to this crown of England,--although the one is far distant, and the other of false and illegitimate pretensions,—are all Protestants, and could not expect but the continuation, or more rapid increase of the preceding miseries.

Also, you shall declare to them the condition in which I am placed, the treatment which I personally receive, and the other indignities and cruelties to which I am subjected, the dangers to which my life is daily exposed, and the menaces of poison and other violent deaths, also the perils to which, in the meantime, the principal Catholics are exposed on my account; that so soon as they discover any one who dares open his mouth in my defence, or in any other manner manifest sympathy for the hardship of my case, they are instantly searched for from house to house,—and chiefly the places in my vicinity, where if any of the ornaments of the altar, or of the mass, or breviaries are found, they are cruelly punished. The undertakings that are discovered before they are matured, and that nevertheless could be well executed,—of their designers some are prisoners, others quit the country and lose their wealth, others their wealth and their lives. Which things keep me in such perplexity of mind, that I have many times wished that it would please God to take me from this world, esteeming that by this means the Catholics in not relying more upon me would have patience, and thus would content themselves as they best could, waiting for some other opportunity, through the goodness and mercy of God. And it was this consideration that induced me to resolve to treat with this Queen, although it were on exorbitant terms, and hard conditions, and fly from them in some sort as it were, sooner than see them miserably ruined and destroyed one after another.

Represent to them that the friends whom I have in this country, perceive from some demonstrations which this queen has made until now, and again at this moment does, of lending an ear to a treaty for setting me at liberty, that she nevertheless mocks me, having deputies now here on the part of the most powerful and the largest number of the nobility of my kingdom, who remain faithful subjects to me, and that

contrary to her faith and her promises (and* to what she has said and sworn to all proposals, and the opportunity which she has been spoken to, executing on them her pernicious intents and designs), and using every means in her power to injure and hurt my said faithful subjects.

Moreover, you shall expressly declare, that the Queen of England already has often been on the point of putting me to death, and even gave this charge to one of her pensioners, who once came to the place where I was to put it in execution, and keeps me alive for no other end, but to see me instantly the more expeditiously and easily deprived of all my said good subjects (holding† out good hopes to them and to me of my liberation, and of settling all by agreement, I am the cause of her consenting at different times, and that daily also she contents them), whilst my rebels with her approbation exercise all inhumanity and cruelty against them, and yield themselves gradually to the allegiance of the Queen of England. My said friends are ready to appear when I can procure the assistance of all the Christian sovereigns, and first of all of His Holiness and of the Catholic king, with the assistance and favour of whom they concur and are resolved to devote their wealth, their lives, and all that they possess in this world to the advancement of my right, and the restoration of the Catholic religion.

The Duke of Norfolk, the chief of the English nobility, constitutes himself the leader of this enterprise, who, although from other considerations and respects, he has always hitherto shown himself the most obedient subject of the Queen of England, yet, in what concerns the exercise of the religion pretended to be by her established, has always maintained

---

* This sentence is very obscure, and the sense seems not easily attainable: "E a quelle che ho detto e giurato a tutti i propositi, e occasione, che li è stato parlato di eseguire li suoi pernitiosi effetti, e disegni."

† This is also very obscure, and probably something has been omitted. The original is: "Facendo che sia buona speranza, che la da loro, e a me della mia liberatione, e di pacificare tutto per appuntamento, io sono causa come consenta diverse volte, e sono ancora giornalmente di farli contenti."

the Catholics, opposing himself with all his might to the oppressions to which they have been subjected. Moreover, the peers of England, with whom he is constantly on the most intimate terms, and by whom he is most trusted, are Catholics, and likewise all his domestic servants, more or less, and also the teachers who have charge of his children, that they may be educated in the Catholic faith. He has embraced my cause against the wicked accusers of my rebels sustained and favoured by this queen, and generally by all the Protestants of this island, that seek for nothing but to deprive me of honour and of life, and by greater fury and malice, when on one hand they have overwhelmed me with menaces, and on the other have endeavoured to tamper with and persuade me that I had promised to change to their religion, to put an end, they said, to all my afflictions. The said duke is one of those that secretly has counselled and admonished me to stand firm and constant, and since there has been question of the title and succession to this crown, he has never favoured any of the Protestants who pretend to it, nay, has always openly declared, that after the Queen of England, the right which belonged to his sovereign lady pertained to me; which demonstrations and proofs of his good intention are the reasons why the Catholics confide in him, and thus are assured of his sincerity and resolution towards the restoration of the Catholic religion.

The said Duke of Norfolk being at all times loved, favoured, and followed by many of the noble Protestants, who, by chance, might draw back from him, if at first sight he directly indicated to them his wish to change the religion, the principal Catholics of this enterprise are to make it appear that he temporizes, and thus unite with the said Protestants to serve him in it, and to make him enter into the business under other pretences and views, for which now there are great opportunities; one, that many of the said Protestants are favourable to my title, part because the said duke is of that opinion, part because of the particular enmities and quarrels which they have with the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon. And, therefore, because this queen has for

some time imprisoned the duke, over whom she still, at this moment, keeps a guard, from the suspicion which she has that he may act for me and for the rest, that she may not forget anything which can injure and give prejudice to me, and especially on the point of assembling the statesmen of the kingdom to do all that they can for my disadvantage, and the advancement of the Earl of Hertford; they are resolved under the command of the duke to declare themselves, and take up arms in my favour against those whom in their conscience, and as bastards, they consider unworthy to reign, and who force them to call to the succession of this crown other illegitimate successors, their mortal enemies. The other cause is the jealousy which they newly entertain of the marriage of this queen with the Duke of Anjou, and on which their persuasions and those of the Protestants of France have practised, and that they represent it to the eyes of those here as the future settlement of their fate, therefore all Christendom, with the means of uniting the crown of France with this crown here by deceit and force, that the said duke will constantly have with France, together with the concurrence of those of this kingdom, and the princes of Germany, companions and confederates by the fact of religion, have not such power to move him, as by the fear which they have of becoming the subjects of a foreign prince, and so much the more that they see the said Queen of England appear so inclined to, and desirous for the said marriage they hold it to be evil, and are resolved to resist it by force, requesting the Duke of Norfolk to assist them, and wishing him to be their leader.

These two considerations have less weight with the Catholic party than with the others, and would be sufficient to make them concur and understand each other, although their main scope and intention is the establishment of the Catholic religion, to which the greater part of the foresaid Protestants will consent sooner than to the marriage of the Duke of Anjou, or, indeed, to the succession of Hertford, which his grace wishes, contrary to their inclination, to undertake, that by him they might depend on the said

Protestants, that, when such respect of religion constrains them to employ jointly their forces, at least they will not make resistance or impediment to the Catholics, seeing that their cause is the same conjoined with their own.

Also, on my part to render faithful testimony to His Holiness of the integrity and good disposition of the Duke of Norfolk in the affairs of the Catholic religion, whereby His Holiness may rest assured that the said duke will do all which His Holiness, the Catholic king, and I shall order, and therefore I entreat him, in case that the Catholic king should wish for any particular design of his own, such as the marriage of Don John of Austria, to delay giving assistance to so great an enterprise devised for the benefit of all Christendom, His Holiness will urge him for the advancement of this cause,—considering that by none other means than of the Duke of Norfolk can the enterprise be promoted, he being the principal nobleman in this kingdom, by means of whom and of his friends can be destroyed this evil design, which the heretics project in the marriage of the Queen of England and the Duke of Anjou, and the other designs which are in Germany, Flanders, and France; and, for as much that it effects the public interest of all Christendom, and especially of the Catholic king, that he ought not to neglect, or suffer to fail by tolerance or too long delay, an enterprise so secure as at present so offers itself; he, Ridolfi, joining in this verbal proposal, as by the duke and the Bishop of Ross has been said to him.

In particular Ridolfi is instructed to assure His Holiness and his Catholic majesty, that France knows nothing of this undertaking, as also none of my nearest relations, having chosen them for my refuge before all others, and especially the Catholic king as principal, with whom, if God is pleased to grant me that which justly pertains to me, I am resolved to entertain the same league and confederacy that exists between the Low Countries and this kingdom of England, and in such manner as shall reasonably be found to be convenient.

Moreover, I desire that Ridolfi shall remind his Catholic

majesty of the proposal which my good sister of blessed memory, the Queen of Spain,* was pleased to make to me by letter, of a marriage between one of her daughters and my son; that I shall approve all that shall be the pleasure of his majesty, and for the greater assurance of his majesty and of my good intention, I shall entrust the prince, my son, in his hands, that he may be educated under the eye of his majesty in virtue, and instructed in the true Catholic religion.

As for the assistance which I desire from His Holiness and the Catholic king, and in what manner and time it ought to be offered, together with the aid of the Catholic friends in this kingdom, I remit me to the particular instruction which Ridolfi will bring from the Duke of Norfolk and the other friends; only Ridolfi can in my name say to His Holiness, or his Catholic majesty, that in case they should approve of putting into execution the enterprise by way of Scotland, on the side of Dumbarton, or on the side towards Edinburgh, my principal strongholds, to farther assure the descent of the assistance, I will put into the hands of their ministers the one of the two castles which shall be most fitting for the execution and good success of the whole enterprise; offering, moreover, to His Holiness and his majesty, that, with the aid of money, which they shall please to employ in this matter, they will have the assistance of such a number of horse and foot, as they shall think adequate to the said undertaking, and in addition all convenience of victuals and articles necessary, according to what His Holiness or his majesty shall ordain.

Likewise you will in my name present to the Queen of Spain, my lady and good sister,† my letter, and signify to her the pleasure which I have taken in her marriage, and the desire I have constantly to do what may be agreeable to her, hoping that she will have the goodness to oblige me by placing

* Elizabeth of France, daughter of Catherine of Médicis and Henry III; died 3rd October, 1568.

† Anne, eldest daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II; the fourth wife of Philip II.

me in the favour of the king her husband, my good brother, and beg her to do so much for me as to dispose the said king to embrace my cause, and that of the Catholics in this kingdom; that besides the service which he will thus render to God, great advantage will accrue to his majesty's dominions, and generally to all Christendom.

Also, declare to His Holiness the great grief we had in being made prisoner by one of our subjects, the Earl of Bothwell, and conducted as prisoner, with the Earl of Huntly our chancellor, and Lord Livingstone our secretary, to the castle of Dunbar, and thereafter to Edinburgh castle, where we were detained, against our will, in the hands of said earl, until he procured a pretended divorce between him and his wife, the sister of the Earl of Huntly, our nearest kinsman, and we were likewise compelled to give our consent to it, although also against our own will. Wherefore I beseech His Holiness to take such measures in this, that we may be freed from this indignity by means of a process at Rome, or by a commission sent into Scotland to the bishops, or other Catholic judges, as to His Holiness shall seem best, as will be at length particularly set forth in the memorial to be given to him by the Bishop of Ross.

All the preceding articles we have committed to your discretion and prudence, together with the other instructions which have been given to you on the part of the Duke of Norfolk,* and the other noblemen of this country, our good friends, to the end that you may use them as a fitting opportunity presents itself, adding thereto as much more on our part, and that of the nobility of this kingdom, as has been orally, at greater length, communicated to you, as well from the Bishop of Ross, by us, as by the same Duke and other noblemen, to yourself.

Requesting you to attend to the said matters with the

---

* These instructions, given to Ridolfi by the Duke of Norfolk, are a necessary supplement to those by Queen Mary; as they are, moreover, of the highest importance in Her Majesty's history, they are subjoined to the present article.

utmost possible diligence, and to inform us speedily of the answers which may be given to you, in order that we may be able to deliberate on our affairs, all which remain suspended until your return, &c.

Instructions given by the Duke of Norfolk to Robert Ridolfi, sent to the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Alva.

[*Cotemporary decipher.—Secret archives of the Vatican at Rome.*]

Without date. [March, 1571].

From the confidence which the Queen of Scotland and I, together with the other noblemen of this kingdom, our friends, have in you, we are unanimously resolved to commit to your diligence and integrity, the negotiation of a matter most important not only for our own individual safety, but for the majority of the people of these two kingdoms, and after them, all Christendom in general; and for that purpose have determined to dispatch you with all possible speed to Rome, to our Holy Father, and from thence to Spain, to the Catholic king, in order that you may declare to each of these princes the unhappy state of this island, and our own disposition, (as here more at length we orally signified to you), and the sure methods that there are of securing us from misery, and all Christendom from the many troubles that might follow; and notwithstanding the Queen of Scotland has given you particular instructions what to propose on her part, I shall, for my own interest, and in name of the majority of the peers of this kingdom, (of whom, with this, you have the individual names), forthwith unfold to you our plans; beseeching God to guide and bring you back in good health and happy speed.

Particularly you shall acquaint both His Holiness and the Catholic King with the miserable state of this island, and the prospect that there is of it growing still worse, unless by the mercy of God there comes speedy relief, by putting it in the hearts of His Holiness and the Catholic King to deign to regard the afflictions and cruelties which are exercised

against the Queen of Scotland, and me, and in general, the whole Catholics of this kingdom, and to assist them in the just undertaking which they say they are able securely to execute whenever they shall be ready to grant them such assistance as they require to promote the title which pertains to the Queen of Scotland, with the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, and to put down those of the opposite faction, such as the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, and others, who, under various and empty pretentions, aspire to the succession of this crown, and in consequence of being Huguenots, are the favourites of the majority professing that religion; but if either of them were to succeed to the same crown, the other could only hope for a continuance and increase of the miseries already inflicted not only on this island, but in all Christendom; as by the designs of the said Huguenots are daily spread over the whole world.

Also, you shall inform His Holiness and the Catholic king of the good and ready disposition of the Catholics of this kingdom, who are the most numerous and influential, and of the opportunity that presents itself to them of restoring all this island to the Catholic faith, and of embracing and advancing the just title of the Queen of Scotland, by means of which many of the same Protestants, who for various reasons are inimical to the said Hertford and Huntingdon, will assist, although Huguenots, the question of the succession rather than that of religion inducing them thereto. And whereas His Holiness and the Catholic king may have some doubts of me, from my not being declared, nay, rather from having feigned myself a Protestant, you will explain that it was not from evil inclination that I have been adverse to the Holy See, but that I might be able when time and opportunity presented, as at this time there is, to do such important service to this island and Christendom generally, that the effect should be evident, if I were granted such assistance, as at present is desired, and of this I might have hitherto assured His Holiness and the Catholic king, that I did not so much seek to advance myself by marrying the Queen of Scotland, as to unite this whole island under a true

prince, and reassume the ancient laws, and the true Christian and Catholic religion; and because many of the Protestant faction follow me, and are favourable to promoting the said title of the Queen of Scotland, His Holiness and the Catholic king need not wonder if I delay to declare myself to any one. Therefore kiss the feet of His Holiness in my name, and, thereafter, on behalf of all the Catholic nobility, and who will expose themselves in this undertaking, and then I bind myself always to observe whatever His Holiness, and the Catholic king, and the Queen of Scotland shall command in this matter, and from the many Catholics of this kingdom His Holiness can ascertain how much I have ever been their defender, and that these my servants, and my more intimate and familiar friends, and the teachers of my children, are all Catholics, and for this reason are content to expose their lives and all my power, together with the other friends; beseeching moreover His Holiness, that upon this my word, he will dispose the Catholic king to concur in this undertaking, and command a person expressly, or give you letters of qualification, that may seek for such a work, to the end, that if through some other design of His Majesty he should wish to confer upon this point, and in order to delay, should reply that he required me in the first instance to declare myself entirely, His Holiness may certify him that he may rest satisfied for the reasons alleged, and that in due time I shall not only not be adverse, but shall not fail to expose myself, with the rest, to every danger to promote the said Catholic religion and just claim of the Queen of Scotland, contenting him at present for the above reasons which I only by your medium declare myself to His Holiness and His Majesty to do hereafter more openly when the time arrives, and in so far it is necessary, in order that the enterprise should be completed, it should be known to no others for the reasons aforesaid.

Thereafter you shall declare to the Catholic king the desire which I have in the first place to testify fully to His Majesty, how sincerely I have recourse with these other noblemen to him, and, in particular, through the great

affection which I have always borne to him for the services which I have at other times received from him, and through his grace and favour having been restored to such honours and wealth, as are sufficiently known,* for which I shall ever be grateful, and although to His Majesty it may, perhaps, seem that sometimes for this cause of the Queen of Scotland, or on other occasions I have been inclined to the part of France, I desire that he may rest assured, as you can make him so, that I have never had reliance on that side, but that my inclination has ever naturally been towards the service of His Majesty, as I trust in God, when opportunities offer, he will ascertain more correctly; and, therefore, I have recourse to him as my chief refuge, beseeching His Majesty to assist me in this undertaking to promote the claim of the Queen of Scotland, and of the Catholic religion, as so fine an opportunity offers for healing the wounds, not only of this island, but, perhaps, of a great portion of Christendom, as said is, during the pernicious practices and designs which are here made by those around the Queen of England, both to appoint a royal successor to their mind in this island, and to promote the religion of the Huguenots, not only here but in all the dominions of His Majesty, and in Germany, and in France, which, if a speedy remedy is not applied, may produce no little destruction and inconvenience to the said dominions of His Majesty, especially if they are permitted to follow out the design of the Queen of England, and her abettors, and conclude a marriage with the Duke of Anjou, and unite this crown with that of France, which, if it pleases His Majesty to lend assistance, I, with the other friends of this kingdom, offer to oppose, and by force prevent its having success, as already I have endeavoured to do by diplomacy.

Also show to His Majesty the confidence with which I, together with the most part of the nobility of this kingdom, have recourse to him for assistance, which, through his means,

* In 1554, shortly after the marriage of Philip II with Queen Mary of England.

I will thankfully receive; that His Majesty may approve what I have hitherto endured, not only for my own satisfaction, but that of the majority of the kingdom, towards concluding the marriage with the Queen of Scotland, promising to His Majesty, that he shall have from me, with consent of our principal nobility, such settlement of a confederacy and league, as has ever been had with this crown of England and his dominions, and, moreover, all that can be conveniently granted to him; and to secure it, moreover, that compensation and restitution shall be made to him for all offences, depredations, and arrests, since the time they happened, and according to whatever has been my intention, and that of the other noblemen of this kingdom, and as in effect until this moment would have been followed, if I had not been hindered by my dread, and that of the Queen of Scotland, so that His Majesty may assure himself of having every reasonable satisfaction.

To promote the said enterprise, many of the nobility and the people volunteer to take arms under my guidance, and to risk all danger of war for obtaining the restitution of the Catholic religion and the Queen of Scotland; and although I may promise myself enough of friends, not without considering that our forces are divided into separate bands, and that they need many things necessary for such an enterprise,—the readiness of the men themselves not being sufficient,—we have recourse to His Majesty, that with his usual kindness he may condescend to assist us quickly, as well with money as with such a number of men, arms and ammunition, as he may afterwards be told, and chiefly with a person skilful in conducting an army, to whom shall be so secured the descent upon this island, with a place for fortifying himself on the seacoast for the retreat of his people, and for the preservation of his ammunition and artillery, and the assistance of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, besides those who afterwards taking the field will declare themselves of our band, which will be a large number, holding already the word; and the most convenient and secure place for landing

may be deemed the port of Harwich in Norfolk,* where I, with many of the resident nobility of this band, will suddenly appear in person with the said succours; and if hereafter it should appear that the said descent would be more expeditious in Sussex, at Portsmouth, I shall be ready to assist at it with the like forces at the same place, not doubting but that I shall have so many and such people as shall be able to resist for some time all the troops of the Queen of England, the enterprise being secure by sea. Entreat His Holiness and His Majesty, in my name and that of all the rest, that the assistance shall consist of six thousand musketeers, and four thousand muskets for arming our men like them, and two thousand corslets, and twenty-five fieldpieces of artillery, and such quantity of ammunition as for the said artillery and muskets may be requisite; and it will also be necessary to send three thousand horses across the sea, if it can be done without disclosing the enterprise, as these will be sufficient, if ready to be sent after the six thousand musketeers have passed into England, to make certain of securing the country; aud moreover money is required for levying some people, and paying those who may come to our assistance: which arms, ammunition and money, should the enterprise by the aid of God and His Majesty be successful,—as I hope and feel certain that it will,—I shall be content, and I promise, with the Queen of Scotland and the other noblemen, to restore and to repay the money, and remain for ever obliged to His Holiness and His Most Christian Majesty.

You can also mention that, for the greater security of the enterprise, I, together with the other friends, am of opinion that when the assistance can be increased to the number of ten thousand men in all, six thousand should be made to land in England, two thousand in Ireland, and other two thousand in Scotland, where it shall be appointed who shall assist them, and give them a place of retreat secure in any event; and this expedient appears very safe, by reason that the Queen of England will require to divide the forces into several compa-

* On the Essex side.

nies, in which she will be unable to send so many as were intended, as was said, so that the strength of those present will not be always superior to ours.

Also, declare the hope that the Queen of England, although she daily appears willing to treat by agreement to restore the Queen of Scotland, yet considering the behaviour held to this hour, and the proceeding to which it has given rise, there is no expectation that she will otherwise restore her, and especially since she is embarked in this new project of marrying the Duke of Anjou, which, if permitted to take place, will be very injurious, not so much for this kingdom, as perchance for all the rest of Christendom, considering how such a plan is conducted, and from the beginning has been the motive of the Protestants even of France, and not without a deep design. Therefore, although the Queen of Scots were restored in Scotland, we are resolved by every means to promote the cause of her claim and the Catholic religion in this kingdom, and for so much in every way will the assistance be necessary; and if by means of the war with the Turk, or other impediments, it should not become convenient for His Holiness and His Majesty so readily to provide assistance, but that it should be deferred for some short time, it being possible again to attempt the design; and if still to give more favour to the cause, it should be thought a good expedient by His Holiness and the Catholic King, that I with the other principal people of this kingdom should retire to Flanders or Spain, to await a fitting time, and in the meanwhile with my party, and the favour of the many noblemen and people who may adhere to me, should keep the Queen of England engaged and in fear, I would be willing to go to His Majesty's dominions, or wherever he might command me at all times, if, in a word, His Holiness and His Majesty would provide for the stoppage of my means and of my friends; and this I design until the Queen of Scotland, as said is, is restored to liberty to Scotland; because if she shall not be set at liberty, and if she shall remain in her present state of misery, it is not agreeable that I should leave this so as to desert the said Queen of Scotland, but I with the troops of my friends shall

say to His Holiness and His Majesty that I am resolved to try the chance of one battle, and endeavour to extricate her by force, and make myself master for some time of the person of the Queen of England, to assure myself of that of the Queen of Scots, which, if it shall please God to grant me the grace, will produce great good to all Christendom, should His Holiness and His Majesty not consider the inconveniences that must follow, resting upon the Queen of England and her present councillors and their pernicious designs, from which the dominions of His Majesty can never be secure, but always, by reason of the plots which they are hatching, it will be necessary to keep a strong army in Flanders, if they wish that that country shall not again be subjected to the bribery of the Queen of England; and should it revolt, if my enterprise is favoured and attended with good success, as there is strong reason to hope it will, with the arrangements aforesaid, His Majesty may stand quite secure from every insurrection that might be raised in his said dominions; and when there should be need, I pledge myself and all the nobility to his every will, as with all affection we here offer to him.

And, therefore, notify to His Holiness and the Catholic King, that it appears to us that the enterprise ought to be put in execution as early as possible before the summer passes, and that our design should in no manner be discovered by the French, or the Queen of England; which French, assure the said princes upon our word, neither know, nor shall know any thing of this undertaking; and that by rupturing the marriage of the Duke of Anjou, nothing is more certain than to execute this enterprise, for which I and all the friends are always prepared, whenever His Holiness and His Majesty command; and, therefore, intreat them on behalf of us all, that they may be pleased with more diligence and secrecy to apply themselves to expedite you hither with the resolution to which they shall come, because the whole enterprise will be guided by this, whilst quite secret until your return, or that by letter you will inform me of the will of His Holiness and His Majesty; wherefore, I desire that

you will hasten your journey as far as possible, so as not to lose the opportunity of the season.

I give you letters of credit in my name, and in that of all the friends of His Holiness, and the Catholic King, and the Duke of Alva, which, if with the Bishop of Ross, you consider them likely to bring any danger to us or you, either in this country or abroad, by the vigilance which is felt and employed, and by the suspicions which surround us, I am willing you should leave here in the hands of the Spanish ambassador, requesting him, on my part, that if I shall require to write to them again, he will be content to give you a copy of them for each of the said princes in his most secret cipher, and write to each that he retains the originals in his own possession, and the reason why you do not venture to carry them with you, as with such letters from the ambassador, it will be the same as if you carried with you our originals;* and if in the meanwhile I shall endeavour to speak in safety personally to the ambassador himself, and to confirm him how much is contained in this instruction, I will inform him if I do not them by my letter, that so much more ardently he may write to His Majesty, to whom, with all due reverence,

---

* The deciphers of these Instructions are contained, not only in the archives of the Vatican, but in those of Simancas; we must, therefore, conclude that the originals were really deposited with the Spanish ambassador at London, and that he apprised the parties interested of the fact; without that, the deciphered copies would have had no weight with them, while we know by the correspondence of the time that they were taken into great consideration by Pope Pius V and Philip II. Further, it is certain that the Duke of Alva, when he learned that the object of Ridolfi's mission was discovered, wrote immediately to Don Gueraldo d'Espés to take great care that the Instructions of Mary Stuart and the Duke of Norfolk entrusted to him were not seized. (See "Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia," tom. vii. pp. 360-467.) Mary, in her correspondences with the Dukes of Norfolk and Alva, often alludes to these Instructions; lastly, in the numerous interrogatories to which they were subjected in October 1571, the Bishop of Ross and Barker entered at great length with regard to them. Every thing, therefore, concurs to show that there is no room for doubting the authenticity of these important documents. See also Murdin, p. 25, and others.

you will kiss hands in my name, showing to him as much as possible, the desire which I have to serve him, and maintain myself in his good favours: and in going before the Duke of Alva, you will commend me to him, offering me to him in all that may be agreeable to him, and confer with him upon this enterprise so far as shall appear to you necessary, and according as you may find him well disposed to favour this our just enterprise, and to give you his letters of recommendation to His Holiness and His Majesty, and in whatever way he may determine, he will, as a prince of honour, endeavour that this design may remain very secret, and that we may as soon as possible learn the intentions of the king, his master, to each of whom through which it may happen, and so to His Holiness you will leave the copy of the cipher that is given to him, because they may be able, in your absence, to communicate it to each other whatever may occur; and after that the enterprise shall be executed, I shall not fail publicly to discharge with persons of distinction the debt which I owe to His Holiness, and the Catholic King.

Also, because the King of Portugal is still much offended with the Queen of England, and I think that as a very Catholic prince, he will not hesitate to favour this enterprise, as he has here no ambassador to make him acquainted with our wishes, and give you letters of credence; request His Holiness and His Catholic Majesty, if they shall think it opportune, to give you their letters of credit and recommendation, because after they shall be sent from the Catholic King, and have informed us by an express courier, of their decision, you may, likewise, the journey to the said King of Portugal being very near, be sent in our name to His Majesty, acquainting him of our wishes, and promising him, in our name, that if he pleases to assist us along with His Holiness and the Catholic King, he shall have every restitution and satisfaction suitable for the dissensions and disputes which have happened any time heretofore without our good will; and much by means of such a prince will be aided the support which I desire of two thousand men in Ireland, because by a stratagem, without being suspected, he could cause them to

embark from his dominions, and land them in Ireland without any one knowing any thing about it, and by this means he would very much weaken the forces of the Queen of England, and, therefore, with more security the rest of the enterprise could be executed in the manner designed. Therefore, consult with His Holiness and the Catholic King, resolving in this point, which shall by them be considered fit and expedient.

LIST* OF THE NAMES OF THE PRINCIPAL ENGLISH NOBLEMEN, ANNEXED TO THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO RIDOLFI.

[*Cotemporary decipher.—Secret Archives of the Vatican at Rome.*]

PROPITII, P. HOSTES, H. NEUTRI, N.

P. Duke of Norfolk	N. Earl of Rutland
P. Marquess of Winchester	H. Earl of Huntingdon
N. Marquess of Northampton	N.†Earl of Sussex
P. Earl of Arundell	P. Earl of Cumberland
P. Earl of Oxford	N. Earl of Bath
P. Earl of Northumberland	H. Earl of Bedford
P. Earl of Westmoreland	P. Earl of Pembroke
P. Earl of Shrewsbury	P. Earl of Southampton
P. Earl of Derby	H. Earl of Hertford
P. Earl of Worcester	N.†Earl of Leicester

---

* Barker, the Duke of Norfolk's secretary, admitted, in his examination of the 19th and 22nd September 1571, that he had sent to his master from Ridolfi a list of the names of the English lords, and that afterwards he returned it to the latter by order of his Grace. Barker even quoted from the memorandum some of the names which it contained, and which are actually found in the above list. See Murdin, pp. 99-103.

† The letters P. H. or N. before each name, are the initials of the words *propitii*, *hostes*, and *neutri*, placed at the head of the list. They serve to denote the disposition, more or less favourable, of the peers, in respect to Mary and the Catholic cause. It appears that the mark † expresses a doubt as to the neutrality indicated by the letter N. The names before which it is found would seem to warrant it.

N.†Earl of Leicester
N.†Earl of Warwick
H. Viscount Ferrers of Hereford
P. Viscount Montagu
N. Viscount Bindon
P. Lord Howard
P. Lord Abergavenny
P. Lord Audley
N.†Lord de la Zouche
P. Lord Morley
P. Lord Cobham
P. Lord Clinton
P.N. Lord Grey of Wilton
P. Lord Dudley
N. Lord Montjoy
P. Lord Ogle
P. Lord Latimer
P. Lord Scrope
P. Lord Monteagle
P. Lord Sandys
P. Lord Vaux
P. Lord Windsor
P. Lord Saint-John
N. Lord Saint-John of Bletshoe
P. Lord Burgh
H. Lord Wentworth
P. Lord Mordaunt
N. Lord Lucy
P. Lord Paget
P. Lord Warthon
P. Lord Rich
P. Lord Stafford
N. Lord North
P. Lord Dacre
N. Lord Darcy of Chiche
P. Lord Darcy of Theworth
N.†Lord Willougby
N.†Lord Chandos
N.†Lord Buckhurst
N. Lord Hunsdon
P. Lord Hastings
P. Lord Berkeley
P. Lord Cromwell
P. Lord Lumley
H. Lord Burghlei.

To the Duke of Alva.

[*Cotemporary Copy. Archives of Brussels*].

From Sheffield, the 18 April, 1571.

I believe that by Don Gueran d'Espés* you have been duly informed of the proceedings of the Queen of England in the negotiation and rupture of that treaty; and lastly, of the surprise of Dumbarton Castle which followed it. I shall only say to you by this cipher that, besides from her previous conduct we may expect nothing but evil from her designs, I am surely apprised of it by the secret manœuvres by which she seeks to gain over the governor of Edinburgh Castle, and others of my obedient subjects, and consequently the rest of my kingdom, and to make herself lady and mistress of the whole

* Ambassador from Philip II at London.

island. I shall not myself enter more at length on the point whither tend her other designs, which seem based upon her marriage with the Duke of Anjou, the negotiation for which is so warm, that the two sufficiently show that it is something more than a mere feint. But to facilitate what you have heard from him who has gone to you,* and thence to the Pope and the King of Spain, it is very necessary that there shall be in Scotland the means for calling thither the Queen of England's troops by some commotion, especially at the time when some good enterprise shall be ready for execution on this side. This is the reason why I send to you Lord Seton, who, however, has no knowledge of anything relating to this country, but solely to Scotland; by whom I beg you to send some assistance and support, such as you shall recommend for procrastinating and preventing the Queen of England from taking possession of the whole. He will inform you of the state of affairs, and of what may be required there. Besides, he is my most faithful and devoted subject and servant, an honest man, and a Catholic, and in whom you may confide as I do, being convinced that after God's honour, he has no other object before him but his duty towards me. He has been suspected in France of having negotiated with you, and in part very malcontent. And so, my cousin, I pray God to give you the greatest and best of your wishes.

Written at the Castle of Sheffield, 18th of April, 1571.

To Monsieur de Verac.

[*Cotemporary Copy.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. v.

Monsieur de Vérac, I have been informed of some proposal which the Earl of Lennox has made to you which threatens my life with poison. And because there have been discovered here certain things which have a tendency to the same design, of which there are sufficient marks and proofs, I write this to you, judging from what I have heard of your departure, that

---

* Ridolfi.

you will be in France soon as the bearer, to request that you will write to me a letter signed by yourself, which I may be able to exhibit as testimony of the words used by the said Lennox. Which I am sure you would not conceal from me, any more than you have done to my servants who have mentioned the matter to me. And thus I conclude, leaving the rest to the bearer aforesaid, who goes hence for the reasons which he will tell you. Praying God, Monsieur de Vérac, to have you in his holy keeping.

Written at the Castle of Sheffield, this 20th of April, 1571.

Your very good friend,

Marie R.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 28th August, 1571.

I have received your ciphers of the 4th, 13th, and 30th of July; and from the two which I sent to you, prior to the receipt of yours, I believe that you have by this time considered and perfectly comprehended my views regarding a good part of that which required an answer in your said ciphers. Likewise, as to the request which you write to me you have made for one hundred and fifty soldiers, to be sent to Edinburgh Castle, you having so fully dilated upon the proposal which I perceived to have been made to me therein by the distrust and suspicion which were taken of Grange and Lethington, and in consequence of this design, which it is unnecessary to repeat to you, doubting not that you have received my ciphers, which were sent to you through the medium of M. de La Mothe, and that, according to my wishes, you do not conduct every thing with such dexterity, as the state and perplexity of my affairs require foresight, and as opportunities serve. And since you have not gone so far, I am of opinion that you should not cease in your demands, but, as I have written to you, speak in that as from yourself, as you have begun, and do not, in my name, enter into particulars touching the delivery of any fortress, except

that of Inch-Keith, whereof I wrote to you. Regarding which I am anxious to know what has been determined; and if the opportunity has presented itself, that you have written to the quarter where I commanded you. Lord Seton is apprised of my intention; and if he levies any soldiers, so as not to lose time and be the first to lay hold of it, if possible, he will say that it is with the money with which it pleased our Holy Father the Pope to assist me (if by chance the Duke of Alva does not wish to acknowledge them), and that upon the news, which he has heard, that my rebels and enemies fortify themselves in the town of Leith, he has executed this enterprise of his own accord. And therefore it will be necessary for you to use language conform to that, if you hear it spoken of.

I have declared to M. de La Mothe (respecting what he wrote to me of the jealousy with which they here regard the journey of Ridolfi) that what he had to do for me in Flanders was to forward the said money of the Pope, of which he had been the negotiator, and to inform the Duke of Alva of it, that with his permission and favour the matter might be better arranged. It will be well to apprise the nuncio of this, that, if he is questioned by the Queen Mother about it, as I make no doubt he will, he may make such answer as shall prevent her having greater suspicion than of the said money, which she ought not to find fault with,—His Holiness showing himself in the light of the common father, and willing to assist all Christian princes, the obedient children of the Catholic Church; and whereas I can be supported by His Holiness, that will be so much a relief to the King of France, and spare the expenditure which it would have become him to make alone for the re-establishment of my kingdom. If it pleases the Queen Mother to adhere to her intention of sending the said number of men, or a larger, leave her in that hope of the Castle of Edinburgh, and that will please her, being on the other side. For it will be necessary that they remain in the city, for its preservation, rather than quarter themselves in the said Castle, and abandon the said city to the enemy, who might sack and burn it to blockade the said soldiers, and thoroughly injure the Castle. Informing you, sir, that if they will not assist me, except at

that price, I will not look for it at all, and shall, if I can, put my affairs on another side, seeing that instead of assisting me, pursuant to the alliance, it would be the means of finally stripping me of my kingdom. I suspect that there is something of the league offensive and defensive which you had heard that M. de Foix came to negotiate; for on his arrival, that I may have no intelligence of what shall happen, the Bishop of Ross is sent to the country out of London, and all my servants who were there driven away, and not one permitted to remain there, and I am very strictly guarded, and all the letters which they find opened, and I am not even permitted to write to M. de La Mothe, unless my letters are previously sent to the court by the Earl of Shrewsbury, to be delivered by them if approved. I have plainly written my opinion to the said M. de La Mothe, by the same conveyance without ciphers, in order that they may see my letters, and to the end that if the King of France does not cause the promises which have been made to him to be kept, of setting me at liberty and restoring me to my obedient subjects, I shall be constrained to enquire into it, in virtue of ancient alliances, by which, for the least cause, the two kingdoms are respectively bound to declare for each other. The said de La Mothe writes to me that he sends my letters thither, especially the ciphers, and that he has given orders that the whole be communicated to you, with which I am well pleased, and thereby relieved from much anxiety, as I am neither able to write to you as I would, nor to him, except with much inconvenience and risk, in consequence of the strict search which is made upon the roads; and I am so watched, and those who are with me, that what I write, or cause to be written, is stolen there; and from fear of surprise, not-knowing when I may be visited or my repositories rifled, I immediately burn the draughts of the ciphers, and very frequently it is not in my power to have copies of them made. And therefore, sir, do not be surprised, if you are sometimes a long while without receiving dispatches from me. The letters of the said de La Mothe will always inform you of what occurs, and, according to opportunities, I will particularly apprise you of my inntions.

You will see by all the dispatches which I have sent to the said de La Mothe, that their tendency is to move the King of France to send such forces as will suffice to restore things at once, and that I call real assistance; for what he does otherwise is merely to temporise. But while the plan of this marriage is in terms, it appears that they will do nothing more for fear of crossing or irritating this Queen; and it is for this reason that I have so often reiterated in my said dispatches to M. de La Mothe, that the principal object she has in view is to gain her own ends in Scotland, and make himself mistress of it, and thereafter to laugh at the King and his alliance. You can follow on the same track, and adapt thereto such solicitations as the opportunity will permit; and if you perceive that the King will not resolve to send the said real assistance (in the demand for which I shall persist in the same general terms), you can, as from yourself, demonstrate that without the preservation of these three places, namely, the city and castle of Edinburgh, and the Isle of Horses,* it is impossible for my adherents to maintain themselves, and that they will be forced to agree to a peace, and do what this Queen wishes. That besides a strong army, it is necessary to possess the said island for the landing and safety of whatever may be sent for the castle; and without protecting the city, it will be famished and compelled to surrender. So that it is necessary the King should send men to defend the three, or all is in danger of being lost. The sea will become dangerous towards winter, and, therefore, the sooner will be most easy and most useful; for my adherents being reinforced by some soldiers, they can make a sally and provision the city at this late season. Solicit for the dispatch of such number of musqueteers as may be requisite for the said three places, with a good sum of money at once; entering, as if from yourself, upon these particulars; but, in my name, do not cease to demand valid assistance. And if your demand is granted, the men being here can, as I

---

* The name given by the French to the island, or rather the rock, on which was situated the fort of Inch-Keith. It was also termed L'Isle Dieu.

hope, be employed in a greater achievement than mere garrison duty; for they will levy soldiers from my nation with money, and collect such a company of my obedient subjects, that perhaps they will have the means of marshalling the others so well as to need nothing more. Return thanks, on my part, to my cousin the Marquis of Maine for the good services which he rendered me, and make my apologies that I cannot myself thank him for them by letter, as I desire. Have your eye always upon this marriage, and do not let it appear that I have any mistrust, or apprehension, or jealousy of my fortresses, or of the advancement of that marriage. I am of opinion that they would do me no turn save that of allies and good friends; and, therefore, entreat as soon as possible that men may be sent, and above all that money may be forwarded speedily, and that the King may act so that this Queen may in the meanwhile send none to my rebels; for they begin to be dissatisfied with her, and are much exasperated with Lennox. There is some hope of Dumbarton, and that he, who is therein, will declare for me, if he can be assured that I will continue him in the governorship thereof, and give him a good allowance. But I fear, if this Queen sends money, that it will break or greatly cool this design. She dreads offending the King; and, if the said Lord speaks sharply to her, and mingles some threats in his conversation, I believe that she will be guarded in this particular. She haggles for the said castle of Dumbarton, and finding him who is the governor inclined rather to remain there the master than to receive any one entirely at her service, she for that reason is more close, and will not give him all that he demands, with which he is dissatisfied; and if we can take advantage of the opportunity, it will be a fine stroke. I write to Lord Fleming what seems to me suitable (for the recovery of his property and my service), that he should solicit from the King, and what it is his duty to do. That will do him honour, and he has no better means of removing all matter of suspicion arising from his fault in the loss of Dumbarton. I desire that he may go to Scotland with a company, as I write to him; and if by chance the King is

unwilling to listen to it, a year's amount of my pension must be used in it, rather than the thing should be retarded. Assist him in his suit therein, and inform me of all as soon as you can. As for what you write to me of my cousin, Monsieur de Guise, I would that a creature so wicked as the person in question were out of the world, and I should be well pleased that some one of my people was the instrument, and still more that he were hung by the hands of the common executioner, as he deserves. You know that I have that at heart, and how disagreeable to me was the convention between my uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine and him, which I would have willingly impeached had it been in my power, but to interfere where I have no authority is not my business.

What Bothwellhaugh has done* was not by my orders, of which I know he is as well pleased, and better, than if I had been privy to it. I wait for the memoranda which should be sent to me of the receipt of my jointure, to make my list of pensions, when I shall not forget that of the said Bothwellhaugh. As for the rest, I have seen what you have written regarding yourself; and it appears to me that you would misbehave, were you to abandon my affairs in their present exigence. For, besides the duty and respect which you bear to me as your sovereign and mistress (who would be very sorry to have given you occasion of discontent), you may be able, perhaps, in this instance, to do as much service to God as in the place whither you may retire. I will not say more, leaving it to your prudence and discretion to consider and determine the rest. And as to the means, it is not reasonable that you should want them: I will write of this to my uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine by the first opportunity, to the end that according to the good disposition in which he is at present, he may provide for it, and in the meanwhile make no difficulty in assisting you with my money; and in taking it, so far as you shall have to do, not to subject you to all the formalities which in a season more convenient might be required. I

* Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had slain the Regent Murray.

have not been dissuaded from the gift of the estate of Champagne, nor from the grant which my uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine has made to you of Langest, and whoever has written to you the contrary is ill informed. It is true that to your brother, who is here, in speaking of the said Champagne, I have frankly said that my affairs, for the present, would not admit of my adding anything to it anew, or of drawing the money which my treasurer had received from it, when I confirmed and augmented the gift to him; and in that my intention has not changed, and no one, I assure you, has attempted to persuade me to the contrary. As for Langest, I have at once granted the brief, as your brother could have written to you, and if it has not been drawn up, or sent, that proceeds from no difficulty which I have thrown in the way.

I have received two ciphers, which you sent me, I believe, from the nuncio; but I have not the countercipher for their key. Write to me how this should be done.

Written from the Castle of Sheffield, the 28th August.

I beg you will mind to grant a bursary which Bothwellhaugh has requested for Alexander Hamilton. I write to M. de La Mothe that it may please the King to send Lord Ogilvy to Scotland as his envoy, with special letters to the Earls of Mar and Morton, to admonish them to recognize me as their sovereign, that the said Lord may take me and my son under his protection, and recognize and favour them in particular as the instruments, in so doing, of ending the troubles; otherwise that he will punish those in France who espouse the part of my rebels, and send such an army to Scotland to restore my authority, as those who would oppose it shall find a scourge. I beg you will speak of this in my name to the King and Queen Mother, and present to them the said Lord Ogilvy. I write them to this effect; but briefly, for I cannot in any other way. It will be necessary to write to my obedient subjects, admonishing them to continue so.

Endorsed:—Received by M. de Foix, at Blois, the 19th September, 1571.

To M. de La Mothe Fenelon.

[*Copy.—Archives of the Kingdom, at Paris, Cartons des Rois,* K. N. 95.]

From Sheffield, the 8 September, 1571.

Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, I wrote to you by two of my servants, George Robison and Robert Mackieson, and having received no reply to any of my letters, I fear that they have not been delivered to you. I send this at random after the others, to tell you that to-day the Earl of Shrewsbury informed me that he had received letters from the Queen his mistress, who wrote to him that she had discovered that I had attempted to escape; that I had besought the assistance of the King of Spain to excite a rebellion in this country by Ridolfi; that she is informed of a negotiation between the Duke of Norfolk and me in reference to the said rebellion; that I have offered my son to the King of Spain; and that she knows the opinion which I have of Don Carlos. And therefore she has recommended the said Earl of Shrewsbury to restrict my liberty, leaving me only sixteen attendants, namely, ten men and six women, and to dismiss the rest in the course of two hours, the French to France, and the Scotch to Scotland; apprising his said mistress of those to whom he shall give passports, and of the road which they shall take; that therefore I should consider whom I chose to retain, with the exception of four whom the said Queen intended should go: Beton my steward, Raulet my secretary, Gilbert Curle my Scotch amanuensis, and Archibald Beton my usher.

And I replied to him, that I had of my own free will placed myself in the hands of the Queen his mistress, relying upon her promises and friendship; that since she has detained me forcibly, if she suspects that I desire my liberty, I cannot help it. Nevertheless I am a free princess, and in that am not responsible to her or any other. I have always wished the most Christian King, my good brother, to know that I have not sought for my said liberty by stratagem, or otherwise than by treaty and reference, with which she has held in expectation my good brother and me. And therefore, Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, I submit to you to whom, me-

thinks, I wrote plainly enough, when I heard that, for evasion of the promises made to my said good brother of restoring me to liberty, they accused me of wishing to take it myself, that if I have implored the aid of his Catholic Majesty in any way, it has been as from other Christian sovereigns, and especially that he might concur in and favour that which it may please the Most Christian King to give me for the restoration of my kingdom: but that it is to excite any rebellion in this country, is a false and malicious assertion, as it is that Ridolfi, of whom they make mention, has any instructions from me to that effect; and the assistance which I endeavour to procure for my faithful and obedient subjects ought not to be construed as rebellion by those who have no right to authority over them or me. That the Duke of Norfolk is the subject of this Queen, from whom she can verify the suspicions conceived against him, if there be any thing in them; but seeing the state in which he at present is, I am not, thank God! so destitute of sense, as not to know how little it would profit me to have any understanding or negotiation with him, and the danger which I should thereby encounter; and I believe that he is wise enough on his part to be influenced by the same and higher considerations; that my son is nearer to me than to this Queen, not having to account to her or any other, if I should offer him to the King of Spain or to any other prince friendly to him and me: besides, that is false: it is not in my power, and I would not offer that which I could not be certain of performing: moreover, there would no need of my offering that which they had done me the honour to request from me. The late Queen of Spain, my good sister, whom God absolve! wrote to me shortly before her death as to the marriage of one of her daughters with him, concerning which I still have her letters. She was the Most Christian King's own sister, and was equally resolved with myself that nothing should be done in that without the consent of the said sovereign; and therefore there should be no suspicion or jealousy on this head, for it is unreasonable, and for my part I am anxious that everybody should know that I heartily desire for my son the alliance of

such princes. And as for Don Carlos, I shall always avow that I cannot but have a good opinion of him, both for his valour and merit, and on account of those with whom he is connected. As for the rest, the pretence which this Queen takes thereon to restrict the little liberty which she had left to me, is very ill and unjustly founded. And I call God to witness the wrong which she does me.

During this conversation no one of my servants was permitted to come nigh me; and therefore I asked the said Earl of Shrewsbury permission to speak to Raulet in his presence before his departure; which he granted. But having heard that I ordered him to give a faithful account to the King, my good brother, of my actions and conduct since his arrival here, and of the peril of my life in which he left me, he has changed his mind, and says that these four excepted individuals shall not depart until he has heard upon this point the pleasure of the Queen his mistress, and has refused to grant the solicitations and request made to him by the steward and Raulet, for permission to depart. I have not chosen to name any of the sixteen to him, leaving him to act therein according to his instructions; and in truth I should not know where to begin, as all those who were left to me at the last retrenchment are so necessary, that it is impossible I can be served by fewer. The said Earl of Shrewsbury has made election of some, who have demonstrated to him that they could not serve, nor be burthened with my kitchen: for there is only one for each particular office, and this would cause one to discharge the duties of two or three, as butler, pantler, and fruiterer, which is not in their power; and all together, with my leave, have requested him to give them their passport to go away, which he has refused them, replying, that he will keep them and make them serve by force. He will not permit those who remain with me to go out of this castle, to which I shall also be confined. You see the great cruelty exercised in this towards me and mine. All means of communication with my kingdom are taken from me, and it seems that this blow is to complete my ruin. I entreat you, Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, to inform the King, my good brother, of this, and that having had the honour

to be related to him, besides the ancient and strict alliance between us and our predecessors, beseech him from me that he will not suffer me to be thus treated; and I beg you also to apprise my ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgow of it, that he may memorialize and urge it upon the said King and Queen, my good sister, and make it known wherever it may concern. I have no means of writing to him, and not without great difficulty leisure to send you the present, and less to provide for the poor people who are driven from me in a miserable plight: Praying God, Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, to give me patience, and you what you most desire.

From Sheffield Castle, this 8th September, 1571.

Since this was written, my Lord Livingstone, whom I expected to be the bearer of it, was on the point of setting out; but he is forcibly detained like the others. From the window of my chamber I saw Robison arrive at the castle-gate, where he is still a prisoner; and the packet which you delivered to him has been taken from him and sent back to the Court; and the said Robison is guarded closely, and none of my people permitted to go near him.

Your very good friend and obliged,

Marie R.

To Monsieur de La Mothe Fenelon.

[*Copy.—Archives of the Kingdom, at Paris, Carton des Rois,* K., No. 95.]

From Sheffield, the 18 September, 1571.

Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, after the bad treatment which up to this hour I have received, seeing what is prepared against me I can expect nothing but death, with which I have been so often threatened, as I doubt not you can bear witness to it. They now accuse me of conspiring against this Queen and her kingdom, and under this pretext seek to deprive me of my kingdom and my life. A few days ago I wrote to you respecting my affairs, but do not think that my letters have reached you. May I heartily implore you in regard to that to which they chiefly relate, to supplicate the

King, my good brother, not to abandon my faithful and loyal subjects to the invasion which is prepared against them, but to succour them and maintain his alliance. Further, Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, that you will do so much for me at this last need as to cause be sent to me a person to whom I may make confession of the faith and Catholic religion in which I was baptized, and have persisted in till this day, and in which I am resolved to die steadfast; and who may administer to me the Sacrament of the Altar, according thereto. It is time that a demand so reasonable should be granted to me. I again pray you, Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, to urge this in name of the King, my good brother, and that as soon as possible. And so, Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, I pray God to give you what you desire.

From Sheffield Castle, the 18th of September, 1571.

Your much obliged and good friend,

MARIE R.

To her Banished Servants.*

[*Copy.—Archives of the Kingdom at Paris, Cartons des Rois,* K., No. 95.]

From Sheffield, the 18th September, 1571.

My faithful and good servants, seeing that it has pleased God to visit me with so much affliction, and now with this strict imprisonment, and the banishment of you, my servants, from me; I return thanks to the same God, who has given me strength and patience to endure it, and pray that this good God may give you like grace, and that you may console yourselves, since your banishment is on account of the good service which you have rendered to me, your queen and mistress; for that at least will be of very great honour to you to have given so good a proof of your fidelity in such an exigence, and if it shall be the pleasure of the good God to restore me to liberty, I shall never forget you all, but shall reward you

* This letter is addressed to those of the suite of Queen Mary who had been dismissed from Sheffield by the Earl of Shrewsbury, by orders sent from London.

according to my power. At present I have written to my ambassador for your maintenance, not having it in my power to do better towards you, as I should wish; and now at your departure I charge each one of you, in the name of God, and for my blessing, that you be good servants to God, and do not murmur against him for any affliction which may befall you, for thus it is his custom to visit his chosen. I commend to you the faith in which you have been baptized and instructed along with me, remembering that out of the ark of Noah there is no salvation: and like as you make profession of no other sovereign than myself alone, so I pray you to profess with me one God, one faith, one Catholic Church, as the greater portion of you have already done. And especially you who are recently reclaimed from your errors, strive to instruct yourselves very rigidly, and found yourselves in the faith: and pray to God to give you constancy, for to such God will never deny his grace; and to you, Master John Gordon and William Douglas, I pray God that he may inspire your hearts. I can no more.

Secondly, I command you to live in friendship and holy charity with each other, and to bear with each other's failings: and now being separated from me, assist yourselves mutually with the means and graces which God has given to you: and above all pray to God for me, and give my very affectionate remembrances to the French ambassador in London, and tell him the state in which I am. And in France present my humble duties to all my uncles and friends, and particularly to my grandmother, whom let some one of you hasten to visit for me. Beseech my uncles to urge strongly the King, the Queen, and Monsieur, to assist my poor subjects in Scotland; and if I die here, to grant the same protection to my son and my friends as to myself, according to the ancient league of France with Scotland. Remember me to Lord Fleming, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and George Douglas, and all my good subjects; and bid them be of good cheer, and not to be concerned for my adversity, but each of them do the best that he can, and tell them to demand from all the sovereigns assistance for our party, and not to mind me, for I am con-

tent to endure every kind of affliction and suffering, even death itself, for the liberty of my country. If I die, I only regret that I shall not have the means of rewarding the services and the trouble which they have endured in my quarrel; but I hope that if it shall be so, that God will not leave them unrequited, and will cause my son and the other Catholic princes my friends and allies to take them under their protection. If Lord Seton can hear from me, send him the copy of this letter.

Lastly, if I have not been so good a mistress to you as your necessities required, God is my witness that my good will has never been wanting, but the means; and if I have sharply reprehended you, God is my witness that I have intended it for your good, and never to cast you off or from want of affection. I beseech you, comfort yourselves in God; and you, William Douglas, rest assured that the life which you have risked for mine, shall never be destitute so long as I have a friend alive. Do not part company till you reach the French court, and there all of you together wait upon my ambassador, and tell him all that you have seen or heard of me or mine. Therefore I pray to God with an anguished and afflicted heart, that according to his infinite mercy he may be the protector of my country and my faithful subjects; and that he may forgive those who have done me so much injury and are so hostile to me, and turn their hearts to a speedy repentance, and that he may give you all grace, and me also, to conform us to his will.

Written in prison in Sheffield Castle, the 18th of September, 1571.

If you can keep this letter, take it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, as evidence that your service has been approved by me.

Your good and gracious mistress,
Marie R.

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Autograph.—British Museum, London, MSS. Cotton, Caligula, C. III.* fol. 231.]

From Sheffield, the 29th October [1571].

Madam,—The extreme severity with which by your orders I am used, so convinces me, to my great regret, of the misfortune which I have, with many others, not only of being in your disfavour, but, which is worse, esteemed by you as an enemy instead of a friend, as a stranger instead of a relative, —even the more detested that it does not permit the exercise of Christian charity between parties so nearly related by blood and propinquity,—that for some time past I have felt so perplexed as to hesitate whether I should write to you or not; and until this moment have rather chosen to be silent than by my pen to offend you further, seeing the small estimation in which you have hitherto held my letters, and that every thing proceeding from me offends you, as you put the worst construction upon all my actions. But at length, considering in my own mind that God proves his own by affliction, and my conscience bearing a good testimony of my conduct towards you, after thanking God for all which it pleases Him to send me, I am resolved to make Him the sole judge of my thoughts, and in all things to put my confidence in Him who never forsakes those who have rested their hopes in Him. In which having experienced great consolation, and such as keeps me secure in His mercy, and in my integrity and confidence in Him, I am emboldened to write to you the present, to unburden my heart, wherein it testifies that I have acquitted myself according to my power in the extremity in which I see myself placed by the malice of those who, without occasion for hating me, have for a long while given proof of their inclination by injuring me in your opinion and that of all others. But now, without further annoying you with the sad and pathetic complaint of an afflicted queen prisoner, I shall venture to address to you this humble and perhaps last request, that you will please for once to give me leave to confer with some one of my people from France; or, if that is not agreeable to you, with some

of the attendants of M. de La Mothe, the ambassador from his most Christian Majesty, my good brother, if you do not choose that he himself should take that trouble, in order to an arrangement of my affairs in France, as well for the remuneration of my old servants now banished from my presence, as for the small number now left to me, I know not for how long, and also for the payment of my debts, which, without seeing my accounts, I am unable to discharge according to the duties of my conscience, of which I implore you to have consideration. Although I do not wish to trouble you with what concerns my condition, which, knowing to be of so little consequence to you, I leave to the mercy of God, resolved to live patiently in adversity and prison as miserable as He pleases, and to die in like manner when it shall be His will to deliver me from this wicked world; in which not knowing how long it is His pleasure that I remain, being afflicted with a disease occasioned by so many unaccustomed inconveniences or by your unmerited severity; yet I will pray you also (impelled to this by the zeal of my conscience) to permit me to have a priest of the Catholic Church, of which I am a member, to console me and attend to my duties. Which requests being granted, I shall pray God, both in prison and in dying, to give to your heart what may be agreeable to Him and wholesome for you; and if I am refused them, I charge you to answer before God for my failure in the means of doing my duty, having duly implored and requested you, in whom lies the refusal or permission.

There remains still another request, of little importance to you, but of extreme consolation to me; it is that you will please, having compassion on a desolate mother, from whose arms has been torn her only child and hope of future joy in this world, to permit me to write at least open letters, to enquire into the real state of his welfare, and recall to him his sad mother; so that, receiving some comfort from his good behaviour, I may also remind him of his duty towards God and me, without which no human favour can profit him; for failing in one of these two so express commandments, God may make him forgetful of all the others. And if the

above points are granted to me, I shall prepare myself at once to receive life or death, or whatsoever it may please God to send me at your hands; which having kissed, I shall conclude by praying God to give you, Madam, His holy grace in this world, and His glory in the other.

From my close prison of Sheffield, this 29th October.

Your very good sister and cousin,

Marie R.

Addressed:—To the Queen of England, my good sister and cousin.

To Monsieur de La Mothe Fenelon.*

[*Decipher.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. vii.]

From Sheffield, the 7th November, 1571.

I have received your two ciphers of the third and seventeenth *ultimo*, and have had no opportunity of replying to you sooner than by the bearer; after which I fear that you will not hear from me for a long time, for I have no means of writing either to you or to Scotland. My people are not permitted to go beyond the gate of this castle, and all Lord Shrewsbury's servants are prohibited from speaking to mine. The displeasure which this Queen has expressed to you by Burghley, is followed in my instance by new severity and menaces. I am confined to my chamber, of which they wish again to wall up the windows, and make a false door by which they may enter when I am asleep; and my people will no longer be permitted to come there, except a few valets, and the rest of my servants will be removed from me. So she makes me to know that this cruelty will only terminate with my life, after causing me to languish unmercifully: whether this be in honour, in duty and in reason, I leave to be discussed between her and the King, my good brother, to whom she has made you write that with all these deferences she will proceed with me, and refer to the judgment of the

* This dispatch was intercepted at Sheffield, and sent to Burleigh.

said King. I have had the honour to be married to his eldest brother, and with heart and affection have always done my duty in loving and honouring all that are related to him. This Queen positively promised me last year to set me at liberty, whether she made a treaty with me or not; since then she has entered into a negotiation concerning another with the said King my good brother, and there is no notice taken of the said promise as far as I see, but I am abandoned in this captivity. Call in question only my treatment, again you are refused audience for so doing. I should be content if the King by any means had some good friendship with this Queen; you write to me that they are in terms of making it by marriage or correspondence: I firmly believe that my matters will not in the end be so well arranged as you suppose; inasmuch as the further that the negotiation of this new correspondence or friendship advances, I receive bad treatment and indignities. I was very ill-used before the arrival of M. de Foix, and I am now still worse, and there is no cruelty with which I am not threatened. You know, Monsieur de La Mothe, that I did not wish to treat with her without the advice of the King and the Queen my good mother, and that you should not interfere in it, and but lately since have written to you the proposal made to me by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Bateman, of entering into a new negotiation, and separating from France. To which not choosing to listen, I am treated in this manner; and by the countenance of the said Shrewsbury and Bateman I perceive that they suspect that I have not given warning at all, which has greatly irritated them, especially the said Bateman. I am at their mercy; and if it does not please the King, my good brother, to make a demonstration, it appears that he wishes to abandon me altogether, and that he does not concern himself with what I may do. The Earl of Shrewsbury, as a great favour, said to me the other day that he was willing I should take an airing on the leads of this house, where I was about an hour; he had already with much beating about the bush sought to intimidate me, by insinuating that I was to be delivered into the hands of my rebels,

and then he spoke openly to me of associating my son to my crown, and I should not stir from this country; and in conclusion was of opinion that I should write to that Queen by Bateman, who was then going to the court, without, however, giving matter or cause for it. I wrote a letter containing only these three points:

That, in order to consider my affairs, and give orders for the payment of my debts, and remuneration of my servants, permission might be granted for some of my people to come from France to me; or some of yours, if you yourself should be unwilling to take the trouble.

That a Catholic priest should be sent to me, to say mass and administer the sacraments.

And that I might hear from my child, and write to admonish him of his duty for the future, making no mention whatever of my treatment, of my kingdom, or my troubles.

Before closing it, I showed it to the said Earl of Shrewsbury, who did not seem pleased that I mentioned you, but not the said proposal, and my letter therefore was detained. That was the reason why I did not write to you, and left it to them to do, to see if they would say any thing of it to you. He boasts of musqueteers being sent to Scotland speedily; I pray you to have an eye on that. I have no means of making known my mind to the Earls of Mar and Morton, and, to tell you plainly, I am altogether resolved to die Queen of Scotland: if they will let me have the above, I shall do all that I can for their security, and will not hold to that that they come not back from France, or she shall do without me. I am a miserable captive, and supplicate the king, my good brother, to have my kingdom in his protection conform to the ancient alliance, and to put his hand to it without minding such conventions as are proposed by my enemies, to whom I am resolved to yield nothing relating to my kingdom, but sooner to lose all. This would be to approve (if not entirely, at least in part) what they have proposed, that I was disqualified to return, and give them a pretence for always opposing my release. I shall make them a present of the government of my kingdom, at the cost of a

perpetual imprisonment, in reward for the treasons which they have been guilty of against me. But I shall await what it shall please God to send me, and supplicate the said king my good brother not to lend an ear to such proposals, and not to be at the trouble of referring in it; for it is a condition which I can have at all times, and which I have long since been sued for, even before the death of the regent.* I am much troubled by the intentions of this queen towards the Duke of Norfolk, and pray to God that he may convert her.

I have given a memorandum to my tailor to send me some things of which I have need: I pray you, under this pretext, endeavour to send to me, or at least something by the carriers, and do not forget the riband. I am very anxious to have some cinnamon water.

From Sheffield, this 7th day of November.

P.S. Not being able to write to the queen, my good mother, I am obliged to trouble you with what I should only have addressed to her; it is to request her to insist upon this queen that my linen and that of my women, before being washed, shall not be inspected and overhauled by the porters of this wretched prison, who say they have orders from the said queen to do so. That Lord Shrewsbury or his lady may appoint me such laundress as they please, in whom they can confide, and that the men do not put their hands thereto.

Endorsed in the autograph of Lord Burleigh.—"7 November, 1571. The Scottes Quenes letters to y[e] Fr. Ambass[r]. intercepted at Sheffild."

To Monsieur de La Mothe Fenelon.

[*Original.—State Paper Office, London; Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. vii.

From Sheffield, the 22nd November, 1571.

Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon,—The note herein inclosed,† was still in my hands when a Latin book,‡ newly

---

* The Earl of Murray.

† A letter of 18th November.

‡ A libel by Buchanan, printed at London without name of

published against me, arrived, of which I make no doubt you have some knowledge. It does not say where it is printed, or by whom; but it was brought hither by Mr. Bateman, a person so wary that I am sure he would not have it in his possession, unless it were permitted to every one in this kingdom; and, moreover, that he would not have dared or allowed it to be shewn to me, if he had not had express orders to do so. This is the cause why I have written to you the present, begging you, in my name, most humbly to beseech the king, my good brother, to whom I have not the means of writing, to resent it as an outrage perpetrated against me, and to demand that this queen shall exercise the same severity against the authors, printers, and publishers, of such books, as the said king, my good brother, has heretofore done in his kingdom, at her bare request, when some of my subjects, on the birth of my son, had made some verses where her honour was in nowise concerned. And if, perchance, she does not in this at least make reciprocal amends, I require the said king, my good brother, to permit that in his kingdom (where I have friends and relations desirous to know all that concerns me) may be published, without blame, books written in my just defence, already printed, and to be printed. Wherein the truth will be opposed to calumny and falsehood, with so many manifest and indubitable proofs that there will be no want of persons of honour and repute to avow and put their names to them, now that the wicked disposition cannot be disguised in those who till this hour have hunted me with so many troubles and afflictions, and that at last they become of themselves instruments of this shame and confusion.

I have demanded a priest to administer to me the holy sacrament, and, in my present condition, to clear myself of all that can annoy my conscience; and the said Bateman, who was the bearer of my letter, has, instead of consolation,

---

place, year, or author, under the following title: "De Maria Scotorum Regina, totaque ejus contra Regem conjuratione, fœdo cum Bothvelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate et rabie, horrendo super et deterrimo ejusdem parricidio: plena, et tragica plane historia." Small 8vo.

brought me a defamatory book by Buchanan, an atheist, of whose impiety being aware, I last year besought you to exert your influence with this queen, that he should not be permitted to approach my son, to whom I understood that he had been assigned as preceptor. If they strive to injure me in what constitutes my kingdom, my person, and my honour, I am no longer surprised, since, in his wickedness, he declares the soul to be nothing but matter. Thus, Monsieur de La Mothe, I pray God to give you what most you desire.

From Sheffield Castle, this 22nd of November, 1571.

Your much obliged and good friend,

MARIE, R.

Addressed,—To Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, knight of the order of the King of France, my good brother, and his ambassador in England.

TO MONSIEUR DE LA MOTHE FENELON.

[*Cotemporary copy.—British Museum, London; MSS. Cotton. Caligula*, c. iii. fol. 314.]

From Sheffield, the 19th June, 1572.

The deputies of this queen have been here,—although she says in the letter which she writes to me, that there was no need for showing me such respect,—with a commission to put some interrogatories to me and prepare the cause, the judgment in which has been already notified to me, as you have seen by my letter of the 10th. I have protested that, as Queen of Scotland, a free and sovereign princess, I neither will acknowledge nor submit to any jurisdiction of the Queen of England or any one else, not being subject to any of her laws, or the municipal statutes of her kingdom. And I have not chosen to recognize the said deputies in any other manner or quality than as messengers from her to me, as from one free prince to another, companions and sovereigns, as is the custom. But, inasmuch as I have the honour to be her nearest blood relation, next of kin in right of succession after her to this crown, and that I have always desired, as I still do, to satisfy her, so far as I can, without prejudice to my

kingdom, conscience, and honour, I have listened to the said deputies in the capacity which I mention, and have fully conferred with them on the points and articles which they have led me to understand are contained in their commission. They have in my presence reduced to writing certain notes of my replies agreeable to their commission, as they have declared to me, representing to me that they could not go beyond its limits. By means of which, perceiving that my sayings and discourse, in the greater part remaining mutilated and imperfect, would have the effect of obscuring and greatly impeding the evidence of my right, I reserved myself (without, however, refusing to reply) in some particulars; and, for this and other reasons, desiring to be heard before her and the assembly of her estates, I have delivered my written protest, signed by myself, which they have not chosen to receive otherwise, or to record it on their own responsibility; and I have written of it to the Queen of England. •Praying you, Monsieur de La Mothe, &c.

From Sheffield Castle, this 19th of June, 1572.

To Monsieur de La Mothe Fenelon.

[*Copy.—Archives of the Kingdom, at Paris; Cartons des Rois,* K. No. 96.]

From Sheffield, the 4th August, 1574.

Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon,—Since your last cipher, which I received at Whitsunday, I have seen those of the 21st and 29th of June, and the 11th of July, and the letters of my people which you have sent me, for which I thank you, and beg that when you receive any you will direct them safely by this conveyance, and likewise those which they shall deliver to you for me, that I may learn from time to time how my affairs stand in that quarter; which cannot be openly written in this country, especially where it concerns my relations who are so odious to them. I write at this time to my uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, following your opinion, to send some present to the Earl of Leicester; and I beg that you will, on your part, persuade my said uncle that it

will do me good here, and that I may have, from time to time, some small rarity wherewith to compliment the Queen of England; and I know well that that will have more weight with him, for perhaps he thinks that such is only my opinion.

I write to my ambassador to request him to send me some more money, and assign a pension of one hundred crowns annually to Cockin, as secret messenger between us, which you will please always to pay to him, and very secretly; and besides what remains of my money there, you will give him something to defray his journeys to me, paying him promptly what I beg you to give him, for he has had nothing from me for all his journeys; and I hope you will find him convenient for the king's service as well as for mine, if well maintained without being detected. To which I beg you will have an eye, for I shall cause all the information which comes to the knowledge of my several friends, who more than ever have a care for me, to be sent to you secretly when haste is required; and whatever is directed to myself, or that otherwise I can discover, I promise faithfully to let you know, and that I shall be no less vigilant for the king, my good brother, than for myself. And if I could have written to you a little more frequently, I should have found the means of informing you of what passed between their spies on the other side, and of this council, which I believe would be at present out of time, since, thanks to God! the king is to come so seasonably to delay it.

They have sent to the friends in Germany, and to negotiate the same in Poland, and to take care that those who held office under the late king, and since from the queen-mother, should not be believed in their account of the cause of the restraint of the Duke of Alençon; and of Condé, who is in the wrong, I am sure, they spoke very favourably. They strongly charge the Marshal de Cossé with being faint-hearted from his imprisonment. The other particulars would be out of season at present; and, besides, I am sure you are not ignorant of them, being better informed than me. But I say this to show you that having at present the means of writing, and that being kept so secret as not to injure me, I think I am

able to assist you. Remember the information which I gave you, that the English ambassadors were to create division between the brothers. I do not know whether I wrote to you plainly; but I know well that I told you that I had it from good hands. At present I have no news except that they are much surprised at the accession of the king, and fear a war. Yet they trust to being courted by the said king, my good brother. They are more jealous than ever, from the suspicion which you know they have for a long time had that I have transferred my right to the king from henceforth, and also they say that I love the house of Guise too much; and they know well that, of all my brothers-in-law, I have ever expected as much from this one as from the rest; and, to say the truth, it is correct, for the good-will which he has ever borne to me from childhood, I hope that he has not changed, and also I shall not deserve it.

As for the rest, the latest news which I have heard, of which I am sure you are well aware, were, that the fleet was ready to sail, although they were still in suspense, seeing that the Queen of England was now sure that the King of Spain intended to make no attempt upon this country. This came from good hands, I can answer for it, two days prior to the receipt of your last. Since then these ships have sailed, I do not know as yet wherefore; there are different opinions about it; but she has no great fear from that quarter, unless it is within these ten or twelve days, nor, as I understand, have they from her. But they think it certain that they will agree; what they think, I know nothing of it. Of this report about my son,* they write to me that it is quite current, and that it is founded upon information which the queen, my good mother, has given to the Queen of England; but I do not believe that such a false intimation comes from so good a quarter; and so I cannot believe that Killigrew has written anything about it, for I swear by my faith that nothing of the kind has come to my knowledge. But I believe that they say one thing to you, and another to others; for George

* That he was to be sent to Spain.

Douglas was commissioned by the late king and by me, through my ambassador, and by my uncle, to negotiate with the same Erskine to conduct my son to Dumbarton, and thence to France, of which he wrote me to have good hope; and by my God I knew nothing more about it. But, since they have discovered that, they tell you the other story, in order that you may not oppose their bringing him here; for it is for that purpose that Killigrew is there. And, to speak to you with the confidence of a true friend, they wrote to me that on the other side they have given them the same alarm, and other things of which I never heard mention; so that my friends (which I beg you will keep secret) have written to me in great haste not to come to any determination upon four things, which they say are to be proposed to me from different sides, without their advice. And I have enough to do to remove their fears, and convince them that nothing of the kind bas been proposed. I would show you at a glance, if I could speak to you, that there are designs to put my friends to trouble on all sides; and, by my faith, I know nothing of the foundation, except that you may say in their hearing that everybody thinks to make use of me; and yet it is only myself who feels, much to the contrary, that no one remembers it.

Besides, I think that you have heard that Bedford, a few days since, was suspected of having had a design to kill my Lord Burleigh, with the connivance of Huntingdon; which, being concealed from him, he went to the Queen of England to tell her that he was aware of the reports circulated against him; which she, wishing to deny, and refusing to tell him who had apprised her of them, had like much to have set them at variance, although nothing has followed in it but suspicion. I am sure that you have been made aware of it They say that the Earl of Leicester endeavours to gain Walsingham's approval of his suit for me; if it is so, you will know it, and I shall write to you how they advise me to behave in the matter: but I do not believe it. I must say that I am extremely vexed that you have taken my last letter in such part as you seem to have done. For, as to your prudence, I no more

doubted it than your good will; but I wrote to you privately the reply which was made when they lamented the danger in which I was; not that I thought that you had not well and wisely directed what you had written on the other side, but to show you how others would draw from it an excuse for delaying to provide for it. I know well these delays of court, and how, upon my own letters, they can lay hold of it. I beseech you, Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, not to think that I have any other opinion of your actions than of those of a very wise gentleman, and of good conscience, but that I look upon you as a real friend, to whom I shall ever feel obliged; and if my opinion were otherwise, I should not act so freely with you. As to what you say, that some who pretended to be friends complained that you did not ask their assistance eagerly enough, I cannot imagine of whom you speak, and do not remember to have heard such things of you that you yourself favour the Huguenots: of your servants I do not speak; but that the person who speaks so foolishly on that subject has shewn himself to be an enemy of France, of which I am the friend and ally for life. I beg you will write to me his name, which I promise you I shall not reveal to a creature in this world, but that I may be on my guard, and may tell you what I know of him; and, upon my faith, I shall not use it but at your discretion. And, because I am obliged to make all these scrawls stealthily, I cannot at present write to you at greater length. I shall only beg of you, if you receive the small chest of articles which I need, to send it to me privily.

Written at Sheffield, the 4th of August, 1574.

The Queen of Scotland.

P.S.—Since writing this cipher, I have heard pleasant news of the king, who they say escaped from Poland by his kitchen, having only, of all his movables, left but two glasses, after having made each drink heartily, while he drank water only. The information came from Venice; but the more that I see there, they complain of having, for a long time, heard nothing from France, except that they expect the king at Lyons on the sixth of this month, for which they are very sorry.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 4 August [1574].

Since my ciphers which I wrote to you of the 22d of May, I received yours of the 28th April, of the 12th, 23d, and 25th of May, of the 28th of June, and have seen that for your brother of Whitsunday. To reply to which generally, not having leisure to write particularly upon the whole, because at the time prefixed my dispatch requires to be ready, I will tell you that I am quite satisfied with all your proceedings, and having received, as I hope you have done, my said cipher, you will be sufficiently informed of my intentions on the points on which you desire to be resolved, especially touching the English, to whom, in particular to Westmoreland, you will make known my desire to do better, when I shall have the means; and as to his appointment, I should be well pleased that he had it, provided that two things were seen to; the one his safety, of which I am doubtful, for the rest of those who are of his religion, and better backed at court than him, begin to draw back in it, as you understand of Oxford and others, of whom I know nothing in particular, except that few people feel themselves secure or contented here, who do not side with the Puritans, of whom Huntingdon is the leader, or with the Protestants, which are two contrary factions very inimical to each other and always united against me; an unworthy comparison, but, as they say in the proverb, that Caiaphas and Pilate became friends to judge our Lord. And yet both flatter me. In short, it is difficult for a good Catholic to maintain himself here without danger to his life, or, which is dearer, his conscience. However, informing you of the offers which are made to him, I shall take care, by my first dispatch, to apprise you of what can be discovered of them, or acquaint him with it by other means. Still I do not wish to advise him to refuse a good offer if made to him, but heartily to admonish him, that in accepting it he has regard not to injure the cause of God, his friends, and his reputation, by assuring his life only upon dishonour-

able terms; and that you will entreat him as a friend to look to his mode of living in a strange country, and not lightly to neglect his friends, for frivolous quarrels, or vain words, for all comes to account in the end. You can consider of this with Ligons, who will be a good person to speak to him, and in what terms; and having paid them what I ordered in my last cipher to you, either from the surplus money in the hands of the cardinal my uncle, or otherwise, secretly admonish them to live in charity and patience, reminding them of the saying of Cæsar while at sea during a storm, seeing that if they are banished, I am a prisoner. It is necessary however to be cautious with them, for they are too free; I leave all to your discretion. As for Sir Francis Englefield, keep him as long as you can, reserving the final resolution till the issue of these wars in Flanders, and that he may see a sure plan for my liberation; and that you may know better how to conduct yourself in such matters henceforward for some time, I will show you the present state of this country, which you will lay before my said uncle only, with a positive injunction not to reveal it as coming from me, and to write to me his opinion thereon, on hearing which, I shall more surely determine; and, in what relates to the advantage of the King, I shall be well pleased that he informs him of it, but that it will answer as well if he does not know it comes from me.

Now to begin: you know that there are three factions in this kingdom; one of the Puritans, in favour of Huntingdon, who is privily supported by Leicester; another of Burleigh, for Hertford; and the third of the poor Catholics; and of all these this queen is the enemy, and only considers Hatton, Walsingham, and several others, at all free from suspicion, expressing herself to them thus, that she would wish to return after her death, to see the murders, quarrels, and divisions in this country. "For," says she, "Leicester flatters Hertford, and stands for his own brother-in-law, and the others would like to be rid of me. But if the third comes (speaking of me), she will soon take off their heads." And therefore she has persuaded the said Hatton neither to purchase lands nor build houses, for, if she were dead, he could not live. Yet Leicester

talks over Monsieur de La Mothe,* to persuade me that he is wholly for me, and professes that afterwards he is to propose marriage to me, and endeavours to gain over Walsingham, my mortal enemy, to this effect. Burleigh writes very civilly of me, when he thinks it will come to my ears, protesting that he will not, like others, suffer anything to be said to him against me (he alludes to Leicester), as the nearest relative of the queen, and whom he desires to honour as far as I shall not offend his mistress. Notwithstanding Bedford, who is entirely Leicester's, as he himself has caused me to be informed, solicits to have me, to persuade me to come to it. But recently they have charged him with the knowledge of a conspiracy against the life of Burleigh, of which he is acquitted. I do not know what will be the result, but they have little confidence in each other. Nevertheless they are all greatly afraid of the King of France at present; and as much as they wished for the death of the late king, so much are they now dejected, and desirous of that of the present good king, whom they have reported to be ill of the same disease as his brother; and rail against the queen mother, who they say has usurped the government by her own private authority, blaming her for the strict confinement of M. de Alençon,† who at first, boldly and distinctly, they said ought to be king, and that, as such, they wished to maintain him. But since then they have cooled; however they do not call the present one king of France. They complain that their ambassador has not such good information as he was wont, and that

---

* Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe Fénélon, of the old and illustrious family of Salignac in Guienne, born in 1523. He was sent by Catherine de Médicis as ambassador to England in 1568, the duties of which office he discharged till 1575. Having been appointed ambassador to Spain by Henry IV, he died on his way to Madrid at Bordeaux, 13th August 1599, aged sixty-six, much regretted by his master. His dispatches have been edited by M. Teulet, and published under the direction of Mr. P. C. Cooper, in 7 vols. 8vo. London and Paris, 1838.

† Francis of France, Duke of Anjou, son of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis, brother of kings Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III; born in 1554, died 10th June 1584, aged twenty-nine.

nobody dare visit him without being searched; and, to say the truth, their information is not so particular as it used to be. But it is necessary to look narrowly there, and among others at Drysdale. For he will spoil all if we do not take care of him. He is deceitful, and threatens me, if I do not do for him as he wishes: for which I have signed him an order. Make him of service in something where he need not be paid, and above all that he may not know that you have anything in cipher from me. For the rest, there is so much evil in this country that there is nothing else. Burleigh even is in discredit, and meddles no further in affairs than to endeavour to please, especially the Catholics in the Tower of London. My keeper is always suspected; but they fear so much this new king, and this Spanish army, that, seeing it defies them, they suffer it to pass along for a time. Dr. Wilson, my great enemy, has said to a creature of my keeper, and of quality, that he would be glad to get rid of me; for otherwise they would endeavour to do me a bad turn, or make me suffer in his hands, which would be disgraceful to him, and they knew would not be to his liking. My friends here, the more they are persecuted the better they love and esteem me. You have heard the suspicion against Alexander Hamilton. They have discovered nothing in it, and at present accuse him of that for which they have no grounds. Monsieur de La Mothe writes to me that it is of having designed, with Alexander Erskine,* to carry my son into Spain, by the advice of Killegrew; and my friends write to me that it is the queen-mother who has written here that they should be on their guard with him. Have an eye to learn the truth

---

* Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, brother of John, sixth Earl of Marr, Regent of Scotland. His character is thus pourtrayed by Sir James Melville, in his amusing Memoirs: "Allexander Askin wes a nobleman of a trew, gentill nature, weill loved and lyked of every man for his gud qualites and gret discretion, in na wayes factious nor envyous, a lover of all honest men, and desyred ever to have sic as wer of gud conversation to be about the prince, rather then his awen nerer frendis gif he thocht them not sa meit."—*Bannatyne Club edition*, p. 261.

there; for you can assure them that nothing of the kind is in agitation here. Besides, my friends have written to me that they have a great jealousy of the King of France, and that they say that they speak of our marriage, and of that of Don John of Austria, of that of the emperor's son, and of Leicester, and I have heard nothing of the one or of the other. But they consider it so certain that it is to be proposed to me, that they earnestly entreat me not to bind myself to one party or another without their privity, for fear which they have of my life. They say that the emperor's son is to make a handsome offer to me, but I know nothing of it yet. The Spanish ambassador has written to me, and requested me not to be in a haste either for the proposals from that country or for the accession of the new king, but to wait three months, in which time he promises me comfortable tidings from that quarter. I have answered him civilly, to remove suspicion, except to wish a firm league between the two kings, for the benefit of the poor Catholics who look for this happy day. In short, that the imposthume is ready to burst in this island, by which it is to be considered, that as I do not wish to precipitate anything, that also if these suspicions (which I cannot . . . . .) are not followed by some provision for my deliverance, I am in danger of my life, and the Catholics have much to suffer. The vessels sent to sea by this queen are partly to prevent the king's return, if he comes by sea by stealth, as they are secretly informed; for as to the Spanish army, they have allowed it to pass, and have an eye, in good stead, on that which follows it. As for her majesty's army, it is doubtful if it will march, being assured of the design of the King of Spain upon this country, which was the reason for retarding the forces prepared for Ireland. The said agent writes to me also that they are on very good terms. I hope to know what passes between the ambassador of the said king and this queen, which I will communicate to you. If the King of France desires to be served in this country by my means, he must, when there is an opportunity, send one of my people, with some business invented for somebody, sometimes on my private matters, and (if the bearer is sure and

secret) address the letters to Monsieur de La Mothe, with orders from the king to deliver them to me, and to send back the answers; for he suspects and retains the ciphers. You can make use of this information for the benefit of the household.

As to what you [write to me] by your brother's letter, touching your office, I have, by open letters, already written to the king, which I hope you have now got, that he may receive you with the same title, and send you another at all hazards. For I cannot withdraw the patents from Raulet, for the reasons which you will learn from your brother; for at present Curle has more than he can do to reply to my friends, independent of this, which I have scrolled with my own hand. Remember to send me the box containing the gold articles, which I want, to Monsieur de La Mothe, to give me them secretly. I have been told that Piguillon* has retired, and that Esquilly is dead. I should be well pleased if you would interfere in the superintendence of my affairs, so as to see that all the others obey my will. Raulet is of opinion that I should appoint nobody, and he would be willing to serve under me. But it appears to me that he is not to meddle with great affairs henceforward, except in conversation. Do what you can to satisfy Adam Gordon, at least till you see if you can procure for him an honourable appointment from the king, and rather, in the meantime, advance him a thousand francs from me to encourage him. It is necessary that I should maintain the person who always, at the risk of his life, travels for me between this and London: I propose to pay him one hundred crowns *per annum*, by the hands of Monsieur de La Mothe; besides which, for his extraordinary journeys, I shall order the said de La Mothe to pay him out of what money of mine he has in his hands, for it is necessary that he should send others frequently. Consult as to his remuneration with the Bishop of Ross, who knows him;

* Piguillon or Pinguillon was master of the household to Her Majesty. The "Menu de la Maison de la Royne, faict par Mons. De Piguillon, M.D.LXII." was privately printed by Thomas Thomson, Esq. deputy clerk register, at Edinburgh, 1824, 4to. pp. 45.

his name is Cockin. As for the opinion of the cardinal, my uncle, to send my money in a box, I like it well, and humbly entreat him so to do, and beg him to do me some good turn, and I promise him, if I am ever at liberty, to do him as much honour, and more, than he has ever had annoyance for me; so that, if God gives me life, religion will be served by me, and I shall not be useless to my people; but that they may not leave me here abandoned to my enemies. For the rest, I beseech him to have me in his good favour, and to inform me at large of his pleasure, either by his own cipher or by your's. Caution him strictly that nobody, save you and himself, may know anything of what I write to you, for a word inadvertently escaping might cost me my life, were it only for fear of my correspondence.

What follows is for the cardinal, my uncle.

In order, my good uncle, to save you the trouble of making out so long a cipher, and also as I have received nothing from you, with your's, for so long a time, which makes me doubtful if you have it beside you at present, I have mentioned above the little which I can learn of matters here, in order that my ambassador may communicate the whole to you. My life is continually sought after; but for a time they allow it to rest until this Michaelmas, in hope that the indisposition of my keeper will give them new cause and colour for placing me with Bedford, a man without the fear of God or honour, and entirely devoted to the Puritans. If I see myself in his hands, you may be sure of my death, and therefore I entreat you to think of it. I have not leisure particularly to make obvious to you the certainty which I have of his purpose; that is for the first opportunity. But Monsieur de La Mothe advises me to entreat that my cousin of Guise, my grandmother, and you, will write some civil letters to Leicester, thanking him for his courtesy to me, as if he had done much for me, and by the same medium send him some handsome present, which will do me much good. He takes great delight in furniture; if you send him some crystal cup in your name, and allow me to pay for it, or some fine Turkey carpet, or suchlike, as you may think most fitting, it will perhaps save

me this winter, and will make him much ashamed, or suspected by his mistress, and all will assist me. For he intends either to make me speak of marriage or die, as it is said, so that either he or his brother may have to do with this crown. I beseech you to try if such small devices can save me, and I shall entertain him with the other at a distance. I have received the letter which you were pleased to write to me with your own hand, of the 28th of June, which has given me no small consolation to see by it that you are not angry with me, but wish to take the management of my affairs, as I have requested you. And so, leaving to the Bishop of Glasgow to inform you of my condition, I shall kiss your hands, praying God that he may give you, my good uncle, in health, a long and happy life.

Your very obedient niece, and good daughter.

Farther, my Lord of Glasgow, I approve of the division which you have made of my money among my subjects. If the Earl of Oxford* arrives in your neighbourhood, inform my cousin of Guise that he is one of the greatest people of this country, and a Catholic, and a friend in secret; and request him to give him a hearty welcome. He is frolicsome and young, and will gladly seek for the society of young people. I entreat my said cousin and his brothers to cherish him, and give him some horses, and keep company with him, taking him about with them to amuse him, and that they will do so for my sake. And so, I shall conclude, praying God to have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

Written at Sheffield the 4th of August.

This other letter, marked thus S, is for my Lord of Ross. You can seal the king's letter before presenting it to him.

Endorsed.—Received the 4th September 1574. At Lyons, by Vassal.

---

* Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, succeeded his father, as lord great chamberlain of England, in 1562; died 1604. He was the first who brought perfumes and embroidered gloves into England. Having presented Elizabeth with a pair, she esteemed them so highly as to have herself pictured with them on her hands. He was a highly accomplished nobleman. See Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, by Park, vol. ii. p. 115.

To the Cardinal of Lorraine.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

The 8th November, 1574.

My good uncle,—I received on the 24th of October last your cipher without date, which has given me more consolation and pleasure than anything which could have happened to me, except the liberty of my son and myself, to see, by it, that I am not so forgotten by you as, I confess, I thought I was. But, my good uncle, if you knew the afflictions, alarms, and fears which I daily have, you would pity me, although that I were not your poor daughter and niece. Nay, for two months, I have thought that I should be placed in the hands of Huntingdon, who seeks my death by all means, without my having done anything to offend him; and at present you will see, by my ambassador's letter, the danger in which I am of being removed, and without my fault. However, I am sure that the opportunity will not displease you of being useful to me against my calumniators, whereof I shall make no repetition, nor descant upon the wise resolution and friendly design which you write to me you intend to propose to the king, expecting such hope you have in it since his arrival, by my secretary, whom I look for here in three days, trusting that, by him, you will inform me at large of your determination on that and other matters concerning me.

You will see, by my letter to my said ambassador, at what point I wish you would begin,—it is with my son; would to God that you had him in your keeping! For to tell you the truth, they make much love to him on several sides, but I should prefer his being at school, to being married on one side or another, that I might not be at liberty. For the rest, my good uncle, whether you undertake an enterprise for me or not, you must rake together money: for the cousin* reduces herself much, and if you can bring together some good sum, in case of an emergency, to enable me to act promptly, I think that I should have the means of assisting myself at the first, if I remain here; but, if I am in the enemies' hands, and that

* The Queen of England.

at my need I know not where to find money, I shall be worse off than ever. But since I have heard of your said resolution, I shall seek the means of letting you know many things which will answer well your purpose, and if it pleases God to deliver me by your means, and those of my relations, you and they will have thereby more power and support for our house. My good uncle, if I see that you have a care for me, I shall bear all patiently, and shall endeavour to preserve myself, to obey you all the rest of my life.

I have ordered my treasurer to give to my ambassador the sum of ten thousand livres, to be distributed in the manner and for the reasons which you will see by my said letters, of the money which you may have belonging to me, or the readiest returns of my escheats, of which I pray you, my good uncle, to approve, for the obligation which I owe to those to whom I have ordered it, and for the said sum to give my treasurer such orders and instructions as he may require for stating in his accounts.

Written this eighth of November, seventy-four.

[*Detached leaf of paper, written in the same cipher, and in the same autograph.*]

My good uncle, I pray you at present to have regard to the long and faithful service of my Lord of Glasgow, of which you yourself are the best witness; and, if you will, I am sure that you can easily obtain from the king some valuable benefice for him; if not, if you will please to add him to your list until some place becomes vacant, it will be to me a great relief, and for the discharge of my duty and of my means, which are so small, in consequence of the great charge which I have of all the exiles from the island of Britain.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From the Manor of Sheffield, the 20th January [1577.]

My Lord of Glasgow,—Although by my last in cipher, of the 6th of this month, I think that I have replied very fully to all your previous letters, I am unwilling to let this oppor-

tunity pass without accompanying the despatches which I send to you for George Douglas, my Lord of Ross, and Liggons, with the present, to remind you to discharge that which I wrote to you concerning the removal of my son from Scotland, and to apprise me speedily of what you resolve therein with the gentlemen my relations, and shall, by their advice, have arranged with the Spanish ambassador, so as to have the consent of his master, continuing always the negotiation with the Pope, as well by the Bishop of Nazareth as by my Lord of Ross, whom I have expressly commanded to employ himself secretly and prudently with His Holiness, in what the said gentlemen, my relations, and you, shall instruct him in for my service; and you will entreat my lord the Cardinal of Guise to assist you therein, as in the administration of my other matters, according to what I wrote to him, on the thirteenth of this month, by the ordinary conveyance. You will learn from him if he has had any accounts from Miraumont, brother to his secretary, inasmuch as he left this, five or six months ago, without informing me, having asked for his dismissal from Shrewsbury, under promise to return, which he has not done. I am not afraid of being betrayed by him in any secret negotiation, for I have never in any way employed him, seeing the small means which he had of rendering me service here, and I reserved him for some urgent occasion, should such have occurred, having always maintained him for that purpose. But inasmuch as my lord the Cardinal had directed him to me, I am anxious to give him account of it, and to apprise you of it, to the end that if there is any thing wrong, you may be on your guard.

For the despatch which Monsieur de Mauvissière sent by mistake to Monsieur d'Alençon, I have sent by Nau an alphabet in cipher to the Duke of Guise. See whether he has received it; and thanking him for the good information which he has given you of the marriage of my son with the Princess of Navarre, assure him from me that, as I am in nowise inclined to it, in the same way I am very able to prevent it. They have here an extreme jealousy of Don John of Austria, and are not less dissatisfied with the recon-

ciliation between the Duke and the King of France. For losing this support in France, to maintain there the divisions which they have sown in it, which they fear are terminated or weakened by the Assembly of the States, and seeing affairs in Flanders advanced to a state of repose more certain than usual, they cannot but dread the return, if they have no longer the means of disquieting their neighbours. This is, in my opinion, what has put them and still holds them in alarm, rather than any other appearance on which they can depend, and chiefly of the suspicion which they have taken, without any foundation, that Don John has correspondence with me. Even Mauvissière, who is not less concerned about it, has advised me on it. I have assured him of the contrary, and, as is very true, that I have no knowledge of any design on this side; so that if there is any (except what you and my lord of Ross have written to me in general terms), I am no way participant in it, and have not lent my consent thereto. And this however, in all events, you will do well not to precipitate on the part of the king of France and the queen-mother, so as to engage me beyond what I have opportunity for; and inasmuch as they have a watch upon you, take care not to converse too freely with the Spanish ambassador, by whom I beg you will recommend to the king his master the poor Earl of Westmoreland,* whom Liggons writes to me is not in the least unfavourable to me. I very sorry for him, for I value and honour his good will, and do not wish him to want anything in my power; which you will tell him from me, assisting him, if he is in want, with two or three hundred crowns. I have had advice that De Monceaulx has been paid what I ordered for him. I expect that as much will be speedily done for Monsieur de Morlay, and that Morgan will receive from you the treatment which his services merit, according to what I have formerly written to you. And in order that hereafter there may be no more difficulty for these parties, I shall provide for it on

---

* Charles Neville, sixth and last Earl of Westmoreland of his family; attainted in 1570, when his honours became forfeited.

the arrival of Du Verger here, and for the rest of my affairs, which I am very glad to see you undertake sedulously, as you have done. Meanwhile I shall tell you that I have received accounts of the death of a Scottish gentleman, deceased two months ago, or thereabouts, near this town, on the road to Scotland. I judge from the particulars which have been reported to me, that it is James Livingstone, whom you recently dispatched to Scotland. I am much afraid, if he has not taken a proper care of his papers, that some mishap may arise. Write to me if he had any letters or memoranda from you; for I am not permitted to know any more about it. Take care of your health, and pray to God for mine.

Written at the Manor of Sheffield, this 20th January.

Postscript by Nau:—I very humbly kiss your hands, and beg you will command me freely in whatever you know may concern your service here, on the assurance which I give you of employing myself in it, and doing my duty the same as for Her Majesty. I shall not fail by the first opportunity to give you particular recounts of the negotiations of Monsieur Dolu, if he comes here, as he has resolved. He has constantly entreated that the settlement of the order in which Her Majesty wishes to place her affairs, and their resettlement, should be deferred until his arrival, trusting, by this means, always to keep things in confusion, and to preserve the direction which he has of them at present. But Her Majesty has so well considered this design, and the inconveniences which such delays bring to her affairs, that she is very much displeased with the designs of the said Monsieur Dolu, as you will know somewhat by the letters which she has written to him regarding them both in her own hand and mine, and has been very well pleased that you have concluded the matter, agreeably to her last memorials. I hope that in future she will see more clearly to the good of her said affairs and the duty of those who look after them, whom, having failed her in times past, she confesses to have been constrained, at any price, to make obey her, of which she complains that they kept no great account of the living of the Cardinal of Lorraine, my good master, having been always afraid of fall-

ing back into the like difficulties, under the authority of my Lord the Cardinal of Guise, if she had given to him the same power and superintendence over her affairs; and, charging you with them, she is certain that you will obey her orders implicitly, without regard to anything but her service, which is in a word that she desires the most of you, and that you will evince that you depend on nobody but her alone. If, according as you have begun, accepting this charge, you can thereby give her evidence against the fear which she has had of it (as, since my arrival hither, I have informed you by your brother), do not doubt, sir, that Her Majesty and you will receive from it great satisfaction, and the end of many of the annoyances which this point alone has caused heretofore, of which I shall be well pleased for my own part, who honour and respect you, and acknowledge you alone of all Her Majesty's servants to command me, praying you to accept in this light the freedom which I have taken in this discourse, to which I am not permitted to make any other writing than this present cipher. I shall only add that the affairs of this kingdom are agitated and on the eve of some commotion, which causes me to dread the safety of the prisoners, now that they are not of the party, for great misfortune would be the consequence of it. I pray God that it may please Him to assist us, and give you, sir, a long and happy life.

Note from Nau to his brother:—Sir and brother, I pray you to give to my brother the treasurer the enclosed cipher marked E, and to keep me always in your good grace, to which I recommend myself very affectionately. The cipher without mark is for Mr. Douglas; the other marked 5, for my Lord of Ross; and the third, marked π^c, for Liggons. Adieu.

Endorsed:—Received the 15th April 1577, at Paris, by Bethune.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From the Manor of Sheffield, the 18 March [1577].

My Lord of Glasgow, I am much concerned that, by your

last open letters, you write to me that you have not received the reply to the dispatch in cipher which you sent to me by the clerk of my treasurer, for I delivered it, on the sixteenth of the month of January, to a gentleman of this house, whom I employ in my correspondence, who promised to return to me on the twentieth of the same month, to receive those which remained to be sent, as well to my Lord of Ross as others of this country. Since then I have heard nothing of him, so that the packet has remained in my hands until the present opportunity by your brother, whom I have been unwilling to let depart without writing to you this, to inform you of the jealousy and suspicion which this queen and those of her council have of me on account of the settlement of the troubles of Flanders, fearing that there is in it a secret agreement between the Kings of France and Spain, to disturb the peace of this kingdom, and that I am of the party with Don John. And upon this, as I think, idle talk, without any certain intelligence or sure foundation, they have taken such alarm, that they begin already to make warlike preparations; and to avert this storm, direct, as quickly as they can, all intrigues to the rebels of France and Flanders, to persuade them anew to a continuance of the civil wars, which is their best hope. For my part I have but a glimpse of all these movements, and nothing to enlighten me in them. I find that, beforehand, they have begun to abridge my accustomed liberty, which makes me dread lest I fall hereafter into greater danger or worse treatment, by the wicked representations of those who know very dexterously to make use and take advantage of the false rumours, to put me on the worst footing which they can with this queen, and make her exercise every severity towards me, if it should happen that Don John landed in this country, according to the general design of the enterprise whereof you formerly wrote to me, although this were without my approval or consent: so that it will be necessary for you to have your eyes open; and so to discover and write to me the particulars of the said enterprise, and if it goes on, for I assure you that I am no further participant therein than as you have written to me of it. And inasmuch as those here suspect

that the King of France mixes himself up in it secretly, assuring me that, if it is so, the gentlemen my relations will be of that counsel, you will beg them to write to me the truth, in order that, according to their advice and your's, I may betimes look to my affairs, and proceed to prevent my being removed from this place, which is the chief point to which you ought most to look and interfere with, if you hear that they wish to attempt it, or that opportunity offers for it.

Write to me as often as you have opportunity, and do not forget to write to me what you have heard of the state of matters in Scotland. For I have heard that there is a new design to bring up my son here, for fear, it is said, that in the event of the death of Morton, who has been extremely ill, he should fall into some better hands. I have informed Monsieur de Mauvissière of this, that he may ascertain the truth of it, and have very fully instructed him in what he ought in my name to reply, to satisfy this queen and remove all her suspicions, which they have put before her eyes to terrify her as by a bugbear. I do not know if the said M. de Mauvissière has informed you of his negotiation for the passport of the Laird of Fernyhurst, whom I had written and offered for, in the hope that, whilst he was here, I should thereby have the means of bringing his wife and daughter to keep me company. But I have not been less displeased with the refusal which they have given me, than with the reason on which it is founded; which is, not to displease Morton, of whom the said Laird of Fernyhurst is an enemy; and that this queen, as Mr. Walsingham plainly says, did not wish to do anything which might, in any manner soever, alter or diminish the good friendship and correspondence which she has with the said Morton, who has made every search to catch the said Fernyhurst, dead or alive, and would not fail to request her, as he has already done, to send him if he came into her kingdom. I have not forgotten to reply properly to this impudence, and to show the little honour which this queen would receive in approving, contrary to her promises, the treasons and rebellions of the said Morton, of whom all my

faithful subjects have just reason to be mortal enemies, and that I had no others upon my establishment, nor that I desired to call to me. I have at length offered my establishment, that they may select at their will from those who are employed in it, whom this queen shall approve; and leaving to your brother to inform you more at length of what concerns me, I shall pray God that he may have you, my Lord of Glasgow, in his holy keeping.

Written at the Manor of Sheffield, this 18th of March.

Endorsed:—Received the 15th April 1577, by De Bethune, at Paris.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From the Manor of Sheffield, the 12th July, [1577.]

My Lord of Glasgow,—I was in great distress at the time of the departure of Du Verger, for the want of this bearer, who had taken leave of my service, inasmuch as I was left without any means of writing to you; but since then, those who are attached to me have so well managed it, that he has again come to offer to me to continue as he had formerly done. He is a gentleman sufficiently well off; yet I fear that the little which I could share with him of the money which they send me, may be partly the cause of that change in his conduct; and, on this account, seeing that I cannot maintain my old correspondence, or conduct any new, without presents and benefactions, I desire that, by the first opportunity of the treasurer, or such other secret conveyance as you shall think advisable, you will send me about four or five thousand crowns, with which I may assist myself according as necessity requires, and I beg you not to fail in it.

The principal subject which I have now to write to you, is of Leicester's journey to the baths of Buxton, where he has been very honourably received by my host Shrewsbury. Many are thereby filled with great jealousy, suspicion, and distrust. For my part, after having sounded, by all the best means that I could, his intention and chief motive for this journey, I have

discovered that he has gone expressly there to ascertain the inclinations of the nobility in reference to the marriage which he designs to solemnize with this queen, which everyone considers to have been for a long time secretly contracted between them; and he himself even speaks of it in a manner a little more freely than perchance may be profitable to him. But besides that, knowing well with what difficulty I shall be induced to consent to it, and without I derive some great advantages from it, he has sent in all duty to assure me, by a third party, both of the good affection of this queen towards me and of his own, even for his own sake, in what affects my pretension to the crown of England. And, to please me on this point, he has received very ill the Earl of Huntingdon, his brother-in-law, who went to see him, and would not permit him to remain with him beyond half-a-day. I need not write to you the endless other reports to this purpose which have come to my ear, from which, after all, I can learn nothing, except that the said Lord Leicester wishes to maintain and preserve her favour during this reign, and to have an eye to and secure himself for the future; wherein I have determined to give no more faith to his words than his behaviour, full of all dissimulation, allows me ground; and I pray you to inform Morgan, Liggons, and others, who may in this be alarmed and distrustful. My Lord Burleigh, on account of the jealousy which he has of this journey, was to have set out for one of his own residences, near this, with a determination of going to the baths, and, as I believe, of counteracting and destroying all that he dreaded the other, his mortal enemy, might have arranged to his disadvantage, principally as regards me. But he has been countermanded, and has not been able to obtain his leave. The Earl of Sussex has declared openly against the said Lord Leicester, so far as to threaten to take his life, by whatever means he can, if the queen will not permit them to fight. There are many in this kingdom with the same inclination; the factions and party-spirit being so great in it, that never had foreign princes a finer opportunity for indemnifying themselves for the inconveniences which they receive from this quarter; which those of

this country infinitely dread, especially if the peace is concluded in France, as they hold it certain in Flanders, suspecting that there has been a close understanding between the Kings of France and Spain, and that, if I am of the party, I can annoy them much, which makes them affect me more than usual, and labour so much to secure me.

The said Leicester has proposed to me to write in my exculpation to this queen, and to inform her that I was in nowise sought after by Don Juan, without understanding it to be with her good-will and consent, counselling me, moreover, to mediate with the Christian princes that they should all, with one accord, entreat for my liberty and better treatment, in which at least he hoped they might succeed. My answer briefly has been, that, when the queen, his mistress, testified by deeds and good treatment her favour towards me, I should strive, more and more, to satisfy her with the same sincerity which I have always maintained towards her; but that I have so often been deceived in her promises, as when she made me cease hostilities in Scotland, and have found all her chief and intimate servants so evil disposed to the advantage of my affairs, that it was difficult for me to hope for better than in time past; that if the foreign princes had any perception of the wrong and injury which had been done to them, I could neither prevent them, nor greatly assist them; as also that they had taken from me all means of writing to them, and that if this queen wished as well to me as she led me to understand, she could make it apparent to me herself, although the obligation belonged to him exclusively.

I do not know that I ought to pay attention at all to this conversation; but it seems to me that they wish to gain my good will, either to defeat this enterprise, induced by the fears which they entertain of it, or to facilitate their marriage. And he, with whom I had this conference, added that it would be very advisable if I had some agent in London to negotiate faithfully what might occur for my service, without making participators in it those who do not wish, and can get rid of it, as it would be very necessary. Which I presume to refer to the French ambassador, of whom they have lost all opinion.

And upon this remember, that, when he is removed, you insist upon the king and the gentlemen, my relations, giving him a successor truly Catholic, better instructed, and more devoted to his master's service, if they wish him to recover the advantages which they have lost by the insufficiency of the present one; and inform me by the same means whom I can employ as agent, if such a person is granted to me.

I pray you to thank heartily in my name the cardinal, my good uncle, for his good will and offers which he has made to me for the person of my son, of whom I can write to you no otherwise than I wrote to you in my last, except the little hope which remains to me of succour from the Pope, according to the information which you give me, which I shall follow without making further urgency therein.

And with regard to the affairs of Scotland, when you shall be sending thither on an important and necessary emergency, I expect that the treasurer will defray it, without setting aside a special sum for such negotiations. Moreover, take good care that I may not be importuned with any petitions, and save what you can for my wants, for which I wish henceforward to provide, after being thrown behind hand by relieving those of others. Endeavour to procure a situation for Morgan with some of my connexions, and apprise your brother of the receipt of his letters in cipher, for which I thank him. Praying God that He may have you, my Lord of Glasgow, in His holy and worthy keeping.

Written at the Manor of Sheffield, this 12th July.

Postscript by Nau.—On my return from Buxton yesterday, I found this dispatch required to be made and forwarded in haste to-day, which will prevent me at present from replying more particularly to you, than to assure you that I have spoken to her majesty respecting what you wrote to me, without being able to obtain any other decision than what she writes to you of her necessity. I very humbly kiss your hands, as your very much attached servant, NAU.

Endorsed:—Received by Monsieur Arnault the 7th August, 1577.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 5th Nov. [1577.]

My Lord of Glasgow,—In consequence of information which I have lately received of the designs of this queen to get possession of the person of my son, I let you know briefly, according as the opportunity requires it, and the conveyance hastily procured presses me, the determination which I have taken to anticipate these designs, if possible, and to effect, with all the expedition in my power, the removal of my son out of Scotland. Whereupon, I hope that you will not fail, according to my letters, to communicate with the gentlemen, my relations, to make proposals to the king and queen-mother, and to provide for it in the best manner which you together shall resolve, leaving it entirely to their good friendship towards me, and your duty and diligence. I shall, therefore, say nothing more on this, except that, by the new regulation of my son's household, Drumquhassil* has been appointed his master thereof, which is a great advantage for the execution of this design, if the said Drumquhassil remains faithful, according to his promises. I know that he depends entirely on the Countess of Lennox, my mother-in-law; but, from what she has lately led me to understand, she is no less desirous of this removal than I am, and is extremely displeased and irritated against Morton for a letter which he has written to her, and which has been shewn to me, the most insolent and disdainful which ever a king wrote to the meanest lord of his subjects. I thank God that she daily learns the insincerity and evil dispositions of those who were formerly assisted with her name against myself; their aim having always been against our whole race, as at present they make it evidently to appear. Therefore we both dread so much the dangers into which my son's person may fall, whom this

---

* Cunningham. "The Lard of Dromwhassell was ambitious and gredy, and had gretest cair how till advance him self and his frendis."—*Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, Bannatyne Club edition, p. 262.

wicked traitor wished, in that last assembly of which I wrote to you, to persuade to take henceforward more liberty, and to go to the chase or the hawking about Stirling; which the little fellow smartly refused, replying to him that he had only two years to be at full liberty, and that in the meanwhile he would content himself with reading his books, where he had been brought up and was accustomed. Whereupon, the said Morton answering that he was ready to divest himself of the regency to do him service in such way as seemed good to him, whenever he ordered him, he added very sharply that he had accepted and administered the said regency without his order, and that so without him he should quit it when the time arrived; but, in the meanwhile, that he advised him to behave himself in such a manner that he might be able to render a good account both of his conduct and of the state to those to whom it appertained. If these proposals have been entertained, as they have led me to believe, they proceed from some previous instruction. Write frequently, and cause the king and the gentlemen my relations to write very favourably to Alexander Erskine, George Douglas, Drumquhassil, and others whom you shall consider capable of being employed, to persuade them to this removal, so that with all speed it may be executed according to my intention. If, to work upon them by presents, or satisfy the necessary expenditure, there is need of an advance of money, you will urgently intreat the Cardinal of Guise not to abandon me in this strait, and use therein a part of the sum which you have heretofore been charged by him to offer to me, as I am sure that on his credit it will produce more. Extract also from Dolu what you can, making him thoroughly comprehend that it is to be used on an occasion of great importance. In short, leave no stone unturned until my son is safely delivered in France; and for his maintenance, when he shall arrive there, follow up actively with the Pope the execution of that which you formerly proposed to him on this same point, in order that the gentlemen my relations may not find themselves overburdened, if the king, pressed as he is by the necessity of his affairs, should happen to fail him. I doubt not

that Spain is jealous of it; but in time I shall be able to remove it, when they know that necessity alone has led me to this point, and that all has passed without engaging me or my son with France more than usual. I must in this manner maintain myself with those two kings, until one or other has particularly obliged me by their support or assistance in the restoration of my affairs.

I wait for your former despatch to know what success has attended your negotiations, both at Rome and by my Lord Ogilvy, regarding the overture which you formerly made on the part of Morton, although from this latter I do not expect much success in it; for I have been informed that this traitor affects more than ever the faction here, designing to advance their fortune, as he is sure that they will uphold his tyranny. He has lately received very gracious letters from this queen, who, having been informed by him of some changes which were hatching in Scotland, has written, since the return of the Marshal of Berwick, by Killigrew, to several noblemen, and chiefly to Atholl, who is said to be their head, that, if they in anything disturbed the authority of the said Morton, under whom matters went on peaceably, she would interfere so far that the power should remain in him, as even to threaten them with chastisement. I have been informed that she gives the said Morton a pension of ten thousand pounds, and has lately granted to him the sale of a forest in Scotland, on the borders of this kingdom, from which he will derive a large sum of money. He has hired five thousand Scots to send as auxiliaries to the states of the Low Countries; and, in thus stripping the country of its natural inhabitants, he has promised to receive and support the troops of this country, which are kept ready near Berwick, to assist him if needs be, the report being that a part has already entered Scotland to occupy the strongest places; so that, if the king has not an eye there, it is much to be feared that he and I may lose what still remains of my good and faithful subjects friends to the alliance with France.

They forward very much the preparations of the army which is shortly to set out for Flanders under the command

of Leicester, as lieutenant-general. He is so bold as to make this his first attempt against so strong a party, and in his advanced years. I long for this nevertheless, hoping that by this means, wishing to meddle in the government of all Christendom, they may at length draw upon them the storm which has so long threatened them, and I assure you that I am constrained, by the treatment which I receive, to follow it up as far as in me lies. Wherefore, if, upon the offers and proposals of him who recently accompanied Arnaud to France (I conclude that this is the cause of your recent journey to Flanders), the king has any intention of attending to matters here for the security of his own, urge the gentlemen my relations to maintain and confirm him in this good will, and secretly promote it as vigilantly as you can, until I inform you particularly of my resolution, which will be as soon as I receive the dispatches of Arnaud, and thereby have learned the state of affairs in France, as I hope to be informed of that of Scotland by the report which will be conveyed to you of it by Lord Seton, to whom I beg that you will make my commendations, and assure him of my good will towards him, according to his fidelity and good behaviour in my service. The desire which I had of uniting you by the marriage of your brother, causes me to regret his death more than even the loss which I have thereby sustained in a faithful subject and servant.* See that you profit in this misfortune by a firm conviction that length of days comes after all to the weakest, and resolve to continue with your sovereign, during the course of her adversities, as constantly as you have persevered therein till the present time. I pray God that He may give you all necessary fortitude, and may have you in His holy keeping.

I think that you will be fully informed by another conveyance of the prosecution raised, in consequence of the interception of some letters from the Pope, against several Catholics; among others, a gentleman of distinction, of great wealth and reputation, named Arundel, related to the old

* Andrew Beaton, master of the household to Queen Mary, died on the way, on his return to Sheffield.

earls of that name, who is condemned to perpetual imprisonment. It is believed, also, that the Spanish ambassador here has been arrested, both for the above cause and for the detention of some ships by the king his master, who is well informed of what is planned against him here. The sister of the Prince of Orange resides with this queen, and pretends to act as envoy from her brother, with little honour, if what is said of her is true. Now, that you may not be uneasy by the rumours which may have reached you of these prosecutions, I must not forget to assure you that nothing of these applies to mine, except suspicion, having never written anything which approaches the foundation of such changes, and from which they can extract any evidence.

Written at Sheffield, this 5th of November.

P.S.—My Lord of Glasgow,—I have received the bed which you have sent to me; but, inasmuch as Shrewsbury's people had refused it, as he himself has admitted to me, I have not pressed him much to accept it, the more that he has not made any great request for it. I have retained it for my own use, when I am obliged to change by reason of my infirmities. I must, on the earliest opportunity, fulfil my promise by another bed of finer stuff. In the meanwhile, I am requested to procure half-a-dozen great hall-candlesticks, which are made at Crotelles. I beg that you will obtain for me the largest, finest, richest, and best made that you can, and send them to me, carefully packed, through the medium of M. de Mauvissière, directing them to Nau, as if it were some things wanted in the name of some one of his brother-servants, so that they may create no suspicion, and may pass, if possible, as things of no consequence, without being seen at court. Write to me what you shall have paid, in order that I may reimburse you. I commit you once more to God's keeping. 5th Nov. 1577.

Postscript by Nau.—Sir,—I have been almost constantly ill for three weeks to the present hour, and still feel myself so unwell that I cannot, as I ought and desire, discharge my duty, which makes me request you to excuse me for not having heard so frequently from me. I shall only say that matters here appear to be in great confusion and danger, to

which her majesty exposes herself more, if I must say it, than her safety requires. It vexes me exceedingly to see that she wants here men of experience and judgment to assist her in advising in such urgency of her affairs, which much exceed my abilities. Every one here deeply regrets the death of your late brother, and I for your sake, more than any other; and, deferring to write to you of it by the ordinary conveyance, I shall cease to remind you at present of a loss so severe, praying God that He may repair it by the blessing and prosperity which I wish you.

Endorsed:—Received the 4th February, 1578.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Cotemporary Decipher.—State Paper Office, London; Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. x.]

From Sheffield, the 6th November [1577.]

I shall reply by this to yours of the 5th of October, and to what I have heard by your former ones, not having had leisure to accomplish it by my last. And to begin with the most important points, I shall say, as to what you write to me of my transaction with the Pope, that I am by no means satisfied with the little care and regard which I perceive his Holiness has for the good of my affairs, being sufficiently disquieted otherwise, as I understand, on account of his own private matters and those of his house. For, although that apparently he gives promises of watching over this island and those whom God has called to govern there, I find that his design is only to protract matters, and by this means get rid of my just and too reasonable and commendable suit; I regret to trouble him with importunity. But, to obtain a final determination, without labouring in it more uselessly, I pray you to inform him, on the earliest opportunity, that what remains to me of my jointure (as more particularly you can shew to him) being insufficient for the maintenance of my domestic servants, and the wants of the banished English and Scotch, whom I am obliged to assist, seeing them unworthily abandoned on all sides; and the gentlemen my relations not being in such

easy circumstances that any ready assistance of a sum so large as this business may require can be expected from them; considering that for a less, if they could supply it, they would not demand from me any security: and that everywhere, perceiving the other Christian sovereigns almost in a similar want of money with myself, it appears to me, in this extremity, that I cannot do less than look to my son's condition, and in discharging my conscience, not to be wanting to the common cause of religion, which I consider that he himself should have, in the end, of much importance, in offering him as I have done to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and to the arms of the Pope as her head. In which, although maternal affection incites me to it, if I have been so little concerned for my own account, as every man of sound judgment may know the small regard which I have had for my safety, and the inconveniences into which I might fall in this captivity, in order to procure the safety of my son and the Catholics of this island, which is only that wherein I seek the means of his Holiness, wanting all others. If, then, he has any inclination to assist me, you shall declare to him openly (over and above the particulars and circumstances which you have already set before him) that it is necessary to have, in time and place, ready money, without which, and for the sum of 12,000 crowns, of which you write to me that he has made only a verbal offer of security, I will not attempt the removal of my son's person, knowing that I should come to a stand under the business. I shall say nothing of the presents which it would be expedient to make in dealing with and remunerating those who may interfere in it, or of the expenses of removal, although they would be very considerable; but I wish much to provide for the inconveniences which might subsequently arise from it, both in Scotland and in this kingdom, where, if the good will which Erskine and Drumquhassil have for me there is not speedily assisted and supported, I should have in nothing profited except in procuring their ruin and my own. And, in order that there may be no room for suspicion that the money of his Holiness is used for any other purpose, I beseech him to depute whomsoever may seem good

to him, to keep an account of it for him, and to make the expenditure as the necessity shall require it, and not otherwise, without me or any of my people touching, on any occasion, one single penny of it, leaving the rest of this affair to his good judgment and wise provision, to resolve himself and me, according to his pleasure, in the completion or dissolution of it. However, I wish you to tell him distinctly that, if he does not act otherwise, this will be the last importunity which I shall address to him, and that I shall adhere to my former determination of not removing my son out of Scotland, that I may not be pressed by it to secure him from the hands of his enemies and mine, or from any change on this side.

I do not wish, if the answer to the above is unfavourable to me, that you should make further application or entreaty in it. And for the future, if anything requires negotiation there, employ in it the Bishop of Ross rather than any one else, so as to give him no occasion of just displeasure, after having had such particular intimacy with my affairs, as whilst he was my ambassador in this kingdom, and send to him such as you know to be capable and trustworthy to assist in my service, as I am convinced that he will not refuse their confidence.

I do not know whether you have been informed that the Pope considered the sum excessive which had been proposed to him by other parties; but I did not speak to him of it except by way of talking, at first sight, on the information which he himself desired to have of what would be required for the recovery of my liberty and the removal of my son; although it was not very far beyond the ideas of the late Cardinal of Lorraine, who always offered me his duchy of Chevreuse.

Thank very heartily the cardinal and the Duke of Guise (communicating all that has passed in this matter) for the evidence which they have shewn to you of their good will towards me and my son, which I value much. But, knowing the forest which has been offered to you, I have not so little respect for them that I should wish to pledge it, or their means, unless extreme necessity should force me to it, or that a very certain opportunity should present itself; contenting

myself in the meantime with their credit and influence with the king, to whom by them you can make known the division of this council, so strongly biased that there is not a faction there that does not desire (whatever its condition may be) the ruin of the opposite party. And all together are in such terror and apprehension of the revolution of this kingdom, that the people themselves, perceiving the movement which is made in many parts of this kingdom by halves put down, cry with a loud voice against the members of this government, so that the neighbouring princes ought now to have no doubt of anything here, where with little force they might give much annoyance, if matters permitted them to agree to it; the disposition of all the Catholics and a great portion of the old heretics, in spite of the Puritans, being in such a manner inclined thereto, that, with the tip of the finger, they could be forced into the field.

You perhaps recollect that I formerly wrote to you of the understanding which they suspected to exist between the most Christian king and the King of Spain. I have seen a letter from their ambassador in the Low Countries, which bears that the King of Spain (without being able to sound his designs further, inasmuch as he communicates on the subject with the majority of his council less than ever) is beyond measure irritated and displeased with the proceedings of the estates of the Low Countries against his kingdom, and that, for the most part, all the peers of Flanders have a very bad opinion of the Queen of England, declining, at last, on the ground of inability, to endure more for her. This agrees with other information based on some letters of Don John of Austria, which the rebels of the Low Countries have intercepted and sent hither, by which the said Don wrote to the King of Spain, his brother, that the peace of the Low Countries did not depend on his subjects, but on the common understanding which they had with this queen; and that, at this time, he had no means of assuring himself of it, except by making war in his own country. For my part, I cannot see it but through you and my said relations; but if they should attempt anything here, contrary to the small prospect which

I have of it, it would be very important for me to be promptly informed, that I might see to my affairs. For, in consequence of the apprehensions which they have of the storm, I know that they have already prepared to remove me from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and from this country, which they say is entirely devoted to me. Have your eye open on it, and do not allow me to be surprised; for, sooner than trust my life to the Earl of Huntingdon, or the Earl of Bedford, and such others of my enemies, I shall leave no stone unturned, believing that I endanger myself less, and find more security there.

You will particularly thank my cousin, the Duke of Guise, for his remembrance of me, and, if he speaks to you again of the proposals which you have made for regaining my liberty, tell him that, besides the small prospect that there is of carrying them into effect, I shall with difficulty be persuaded to change the condition in which I have lived since my viduity, not holding my liberty so dear, nor my own pleasure in such estimation, as the bringing back of this island to the Catholic Church, and the preservation of my rights for my son; which are the two points for which I desire to live, and am content to suffer the treatment which I receive in this captivity. . . .*

Remember to send me by the first opportunity 1500 crowns, as I have written to you, and assure Dolu from me, that, if he does not promptly make them forthcoming, whatever excuse he may bring forward, I shall keep my promise to him in revenge for his not keeping his to me. I do not find him the same at Paris as at Sheffield; and, to look to it betimes, if I cannot hope from him assistance in my necessity but from my own means, as I know you would willingly have informed me of it, I desire that you will procure for me some honest man of rank, and adequate to this charge, who can advance to me, on entering thereupon, some considerable sum, if I

---

* We omit here a long passage, which is a verbal repetition of a great portion of the despatch of 31st August. (See p. 383 of the fourth volume of the "Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart," by Prince Labanoff.)

have need of it, and whom necessity cannot constrain to change, after the long patience which I have exercised in regard to the said Dolu; who, when here, being unable to give me satisfaction on many points which I asked at him concerning the management of my finances, was obliged, as a general excuse, to confess to me that he had not attended much to it, and had entrusted it to his deputy, both on account of his other duties, and some other occupations which he had had since the death of his wife. You see how I have been served!

Cause a hundred crowns to be given to him who has drawn up that account of my troubles whereof you write to me. But, although it was much to the purpose to cause it to be printed now, to contradict the wicked libels which are circulated here, that nevertheless nothing may be left to them to sting, you will send to me a copy, and until I return it to you, you shall cause it be translated into English, that it may at the same time be printed in both languages.

I shall conclude with one point which I require of you: it is that on all occasions when you write to me, especially when they shall be of importance, for want of your presence here to consult with you therein, you will write to me freely and fully your advice and counsel to assist me in coming to a more sound decision, as it is necessary. If it should happen, also, that they should forbid my letters and communications, you can (under the pretext of sending me some books) write in the blanks between the lines (alum appears to me the best, or gall nuts); and, although such artifices are so hazardous and so common, they may serve me in extreme need, by the means and conveyance of the carrier of this place, who is not so closely watched, as among the other necessaries which he brings me, to be unable to deliver to me secretly whatever may be written to me in this manner, without he himself perceives it: they may use for this cloth or white taffeta.

I forgot to say to you that you may get me much money from the *Agnus Dei* and chaplets which you have received from Rome for me; and that out of the money from my casualties you can draw the sum of a thousand livres, to

be, according as opportunities occur, distributed by you to the poor, especially the English and Scotch, and to the necessitous monasteries, at your discretion.

Written at Sheffield, this 6th November,

Z.*

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 9th May [1578].

My Lord of Glasgow,—Your letters of the 13th *ultimo* have reached me very seasonably, on account of the vexation which I have from the change which has happened in Scotland, whereof I wrote to you by my last of the 6th current; being in constant dread lest my son should fall into the hands of the Earl of Morton, or of those of his faction, who would secure him to England in any way that they could. The best that I can hope, should that happen, is, that under pretence of preventing his removal out of the kingdom, they will forcibly detain him in some castle, where, if they find themselves pressed, they can be promptly assisted from this side, and, in an emergency, carry him there with them. I make no doubt that this queen and those of her council endeavour by all means to effect this design, being the best expedient to break at one blow, and incapacitate the designs and enterprises of all those who would wish to attempt the restoration of my affairs; for which they are so alarmed here, that I cannot say I have ever seen them, since my arrival in this island, in such consternation, as if all Christendom, afflicted during their prosperity, was unanimously combined for their ruin. But above all they dread the duty of my son towards me, and of my faithful subjects who are about him, looking forward to the storm breaking here upon their heads. Moreover, in truth, foreign forces, however great they may be, can little annoy them without Scotland. Therefore they use all efforts to bring it over, if possible, to their service; and so, if my

---

* This letter denotes the signature of the Queen of Scotland.

kinsmen of Alençon and of Guise expect any result from their design, concerning which you have written to me, and are resolved to put it in execution, it is very necessary for them to hasten with all diligence the assistance which they resolve to send there, in order to be the first to seize upon the person of my son, and the strongholds which those of my party have in their hands, while the opportunity presents itself; which, without other assistance than the determination of the Scotch, is not likely to last long.

I have been much gratified with the journey of Monsieur de Mandeville, and more of the gentleman whom my said relatives sent with the enterprise, to adjust the affairs of Scotland, and confirm those of the nobility in their allegiance to me for this enterprise, in which it seems to me they ought to walk with deliberation, if the forces are not all ready and sure to be made use of therein promptly, according as the emergency requires. Otherwise I should wish, not to lose time in the meanwhile, that, according to my last instructions of the 2d of this month, they should see first to the safety of Scotland, to keep it peaceably, under the name of my son, in obedience to me; and that under this pretext, and to obviate the changes which might happen, some companies of infantry should be sent thither, commanded by good and distinguished officers, to make sure, as I have said, of the person of my son and the fortresses; continuing always, both on the side of France and of Scotland, in all demonstrations, appearances and communications of friendship and good correspondence with this queen, until matters are more advanced, and even upon the point of breaking with her; and then I should be pleased that the king, if he can be persuaded and embarked in it, the queen mother, my said relations—especially the dukes of Alençon and Guise—and my son, both of themselves, and by the common advice and determination of the nobility of Scotland, should all unanimously write to her, with the favourable recommendations of the other Christian princes, either by letters or their ambassadors, especially of the King of Spain, both for my liberation and for the right which pertains

to me in the lawful succession of this crown. For this being a thing which she will never grant, except at the utmost extremity, they can upon this take very just grounds for proceeding in it by force.

I feel infinitely obliged, and cannot sufficiently thank the Dukes of Alençon and of Guise, for the good will which I see they have to assist me, and to risk their fortune for the restoration of mine, in which you will assure them that they will always have such part as our close relationship and friendship deserve, although I dare not urge them to the resolution which they have of passing, with the troops which they shall send, to Scotland. Since this offer comes from themselves, I will tell them that the sooner will always be the better for being beforehand with this queen, who will cut off their march, if she can; besides that, in the event of her death, as many think it likely on account of her indisposition, confirmed by different diseases which waste her from day to day, it would be greatly to my advantage to have an army so near this place, and that I could prevail against the Scottish troops. Wherefore, I entreat them very earnestly to follow up, and settle, with all diligence, the execution of their design, for which I find the three dispatches, of which they have spoken to you, much to the purpose; and, if I can, I will send that of Spain by another conveyance, in order to have a more favourable and speedy reply.

Say to the Duke of Guise that he may freely use and employ Don John on this occasion, wherein, as he has written to him, I consider that he will fail him in nothing which he can, both on the part of the King of Spain, his brother, and of himself. I have no hope from the side of the Pope, except out of respect to the King of Spain, and therefore it will be necessary to request his intercession with His Holiness. In regard to Scotland, it will be sufficient to have the consent of the Earls of Argyll and Atholl, and the principal men of their faction, for fear that, if they treat of it indifferently with everybody, those here may become acquainted with it; besides the Scotch do always best when employed unawares and suddenly, than when left to rest and cool after long de-

liberation. I shall not further prescribe to you the manner in which it would be expedient to proceed with them, from the experience which you have long since had in similar matters, as during the siege of Leith,* which makes me desire and beg you to accompany them, and assist with your counsel my said kinsmen as they may require it. You will advise them in my name to employ, if possible, the officers who hitherto have had charge in Scotland, inasmuch as they will be received there more readily, and accommodate themselves more quietly and peaceably to the fashions and humours of the country than others. Have a care that the length of the negotiations projected for this enterprise does not injure the execution of it; for from what I can comprehend, being as yet not wholly determined, nor the preparations in any way advanced, I do not see that this is a thing of which I ought to make account in the pressing causes which now present themselves. Therefore I am of opinion, that until the execution of this design, and to advance it, without other more apparent demonstration of enmity with this queen, they should secure, in the name of my son, the affairs of Scotland, and that they should see with all speed to the removal of his person, according as I have requested by my last, whether the King of France consents or not, as he cannot prevent me disposing of him as shall seem good to me. My relatives may, if it is necessary, bring him back with them; and, as it were, take this pretence for accompanying him, and with troops. I recommend to you this point before all others, as the most important to my peace, my life, and my kingdom.

Moreover, although the parliament of this kingdom is prorogued to Michaelmas next, the journey of M. Jeronimo Gondi will profit me much, if he represents, as he has promised to you, and as he has been ordered, the particulars which you have set before him for my treatment, and the good of my affairs here; for, in consequence of the general impression of every one in this country of an approaching revolution, his coming will induce many to expect more effect from the good

* In 1560. This town in the original is styled "Petit Lict."

will of the King of France than his negotiation bears. I have sent a memorial of the principal points,—the most important on which I desire him to treat,—to Monsieur de Mauvissière, to communicate thereon with him: it will be sufficient for me that he merely speaks of it, not having so much hope of obtaining what I ask from this queen, as my design is to make the most, for the sake of my friends in this kingdom, of the authority of the King of France. The opinion which this queen and those of her council already have of it, has made them display more courtesy to me, and they have, without any requisition, sent to request the said Monsieur de Mauvissière to visit the said queen, when sick, who has used to him the most courteous language possible, so far as to promise him of herself to have regard to the passports which I demand. It is, in my opinion, to forestall the king's intercession, for Gondi has not yet had an audience; and in order that I may rest indebted to them for what they shall grant to me. This same trick having been tried on me by Danet, the envoy here, after Gondi's arrival, of which I had not then any intelligence, when he said that I ought directly to sue this queen, and that, seeing the affection which she bore to me, I had no need of personal credit with her. I perceive very well, and am informed, that they do not in anywise wish that the said Gondi should speak publicly of my affairs, and divert him from it by all the means in their power; which has caused me to write a little firmly to Mauvissière, in order that whatever may be the result of it, and whatever good or bad reply may be given to him, that which I have written to him may be proposed in name of the king, inasmuch as I perceive him to be half-persuaded by the hypocritical courtesy of Leicester, who has taken all the trouble which he could to flatter him on these occurrences, so as to make him keep silence, after having subjected him to all the indignities in their power for a year past here. I hope, nevertheless, that he will not forget himself in this matter, as he is not wanting in good earnestness in my affairs.

Frequently have audience of the queen-mother, and take pains to inform her, to the best of your ability, of the respect

and obedience which I wish to bear to her, so as to make her more pliable in the advancement and hastening of that which will be communicated to her by the gentlemen my relations. I am very vexed by the bad treatment which Lord Seton has received in Flanders.* It appears to me that his best course will be to return with all expedition to Scotland. As to Thomas Fleming, I cannot now have any regard to him. I do not wish, as I have written to you, to neglect my own necessity, to relieve that of another much less considerable.

---

* George, fifth Lord Seton. "Queen Mary, after the decease of Francis the Second, her husband, att her coming home, made the said Lord George her great master houshold, as his predecessor, Lord John, had been to King James the First.......After that unfortunate battle of Landsyde, the said Lord George was forced to flee to Flanders, and was ther in exile two years, and drove a waggon of four horses for his livelyhood. His picture, in that condition, I have seen, drawn and vively painted, upon the north end of the long gallery in Seton, now overlaid with timber....... Out of the great respect and favour the Queen's majestie carried to the said Lord George, for his great service done to her, she would have created him Earle when she created her bastard brother Earle of Murray; but the said Lord George, being att that time the eldest Lord in Parliament, did, with most humble thanks, excuse himselfe att her Majestie's hands. Upon which occasion, she caused wryte these verses in Latine and French:

Sunt comites, ducesque alii, sunt denique reges:
Setoni dominum sit satis esse mihi.

Ylia des comtes, des roys, des ducs ; ainsi,
Cet assez pour moy d'estre signeur de Seton.

This said Lord George, to shew the loyalltie of himselfe and his family, caused carve in stone, in great guilded letters, above the great doore to the entry of that quarter he built, and other iminent places of the house, this inscription in French:

Un Dieu, un foy, un roy, un loy.

He had for his own particular motto, under the picture where he is drawen with the master houshold's batton,

In adversitate, patiens ;
In prosperitate, benevolus.
Hazard yet forward."

See more respecting this fine old nobleman in the delightful "History of the House of Seytoun," by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, with its continuation by Alexander Viscount Kingston, printed for the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, Glasgow, 1829, 4to. pp. 43-59.

Wherefore, I pray God that He may have you, my Lord of Glasgow, in His holy keeping.

Written at Sheffield, the 9th May.

Endorsed:—Of 9th May, 1578. Received at Paris the 21st June, 1578, by Arnault.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Chatsworth, the 4th July, [1579.]

I must tel you that, considering the strait captivite, wherein my sonne is deteaned, with danger of his lyfe, and the perseutes which be most instantly maid amongst them that are about him, and the Queen of England, to assure herself, be some mariage at ther common devotion, and to prevent it, which they are advertist, is in treating with my lordis my parents, afore they put him to liberty, I am resolute to essay at extreme remedy, as the extremity of the il presseth me, and requireth the same; which is to require, for the last tyme, the king, my good brother, the queen-mother, and my saidis parentis to provyde promptly, and without whatsomever delay, for the liberty of my said sonne, throw the moyen, whereof they have heretofore made me such ouverteur, as, I think, I have given them sufficient recompence of, be the alliance that hath bene proposed to them; and if therein they find greater difficulty then advantage for themselfis, I desyre not to treat in it any farther, nor require them of any thing above there forces and good will; considering that this doing I set myself heir in danger of lyfe, and of the richt, which perteaneth me within this realme, where al straingers, chiefly the Frenche, are so odious and hayted [of] every one. Now then, if hereunto they be deliberat to guf eare, it will be nedeful they unit and joyne the Stewartis presently offended at the Erle of Athol's empoysonment,* the Hammiltons, per-

---

* John Stewart, fourth Earl of Atholl of his family, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, alleged to have been poisoned by Morton; which crime Morton, when under sentence of death, most solemnly denied. See Dalzell's "Illustrations of Scottish History," p. 498.

secute most cruelly be the Erle of Morton, and those that without other respect, are practised, or remains at my devotion, establishing a good and seur intelligence amongst them for the reuyne of ther common ennemy; whereunto I beleif they micht be easily brocht, if, to that end, ther war imployed some personnage without passion either to the one or the other, such as I think Robert Melvin is, who hes already begun to deale in the matter. In the mean tyme, they being al togither not strong eneugh to hold the cuntrey at ther devotion; nor zit therin to kepe my sonne, nor to transport him, without ther whole ruynes, they must be helped and supported with two or three [thousand] Frenche hagbutars, who may be maid pas, at such place and tyme, as be them will be appointed; and of such support I will be certainly assured, afore al other negotiation in Scotland, for els therein shold our travel be in vayne, and the interteynment, wherewith until now I have bene fed, by dyvers delayis and objections, can have no yssue but to discover such as remayne my faithful subjectis, whom I wold not discover, and far les engage on vayne hope without any effect. Wherefor must I now charge yow most expresly to draw hereon a laitar and final resolution, which cannot longer be differed, for want of knowledge of the Scottismens intention; for I am assured of ther good willis and debvoir, as more particularly . . . . may understand at Robert Bruce his returne, and no more excuses can be founded on that syde. As to the voyage of Montague let be that I find him not much practised in Scottis affairs, nor zit in credit amongst my subjectis, I am of advyse nether to send him thither, nor any other until that the acces be more fre toward my sonne, in so far as presently no man shal be admitted to his presence without approving and acknowledgeing him for king, whereunto I wil in no wayis consent, for dyvers richt great and important considerations, principally not to ratefy al which hath past under that fals pretext; and if I wil gif him that title, it will be to the effect he hold it of me in vertu of another declaration more fre and voluntary nor it whereof my rebels wold prevaile and help themselfis. Now if I cannot so promptly be resolved of that which until this,

was made me look for of France, for the preservation of my sonne his person, and his reduction, it seames unto me, that, remaning justly discharged before God and the world, of my obligations to the Catholic Churche, and to the princes therof, be the continuel and long seutes which I have maid to every one of them, I may presently, without forfending them, provyde for the most urgent necessite of my affaires, be some good agreement with this queen; wherein I wil enter heir al thingis thereunto being disposed. And to the end that the king my good brother conceyve heiron no miscontentment if any thing cum to his knowledge, assure him, in my name, that I will conclude nothing without respect to our ancient alliance, and without that I be constrained in it for want of his support. But in treuth I mynd to enter in treaty within few dayis, and will not cease till either in one fasson or other, I delyver my sonne and perhaps also myself furth of these miserable captivitys where we are. Ther be already ouverturs made unto me of two or thre mariages for him in this realme, be one of the which, and some other conditions, I hope to moyen a richt sure intelligence and good friendship with this queen, and the principals of the realme, specially of her counsal, who altogither desyre to fortify themselfis of me and my sonne against al strangers. I wil not informe you on this propos of ther intention touching the Duke d'Alençon his voyage here away and the feare which many have of richt great insurrections, to the end I be not sene contrareing that which can bring me no damage.

Leicester and Haton are maryed secretly, which hath so offended this queen, that it is thocht she hath bene led, upon such miscontentment, to agre unto the sicht of the Duke d'Alençon, notwithstanding she had differred thre whol dayis, with an extreme regrete, and many tearis, afore she wold subscryve the pasport, being induced therunto, and almost forced be those that have led this negotiation in dispyte of the said Leicester. And to tel you in one word, the division is so far rooted amongst the principals here, and every one so much irritat for dyvers respectis, over long to be deduced, that, since this regne, the occasion hath not bene so prepared to hold them occupyed at home from medling with the affairs of

their next neighbours. I will provyde for this parlement, which is sayd shold be holden in September, the people not willing it shold be differred any longar, nor that more delay shold be maid in ordor taking for the succession of their quene; seing her furth of al esperance ever to have children. The voyage of Nau has served me much as wel in this realme as in Scotland. For albeit he has not sene my sonne, for not acknowledgeing him for king (which I had forsene before his parting from hence), he hath communicat with dyvers of my faithful subjectis, and be them understand the whole estate of the affaires of this countrey; amongst the rest be my Lordis Seton and Ogilvy, whom he hath particularly informed of my intention on al that may concern my service in those partis. He hath taken ordor to mak close the perseute made aganist the Hammiltons, and under my sonnis authorite to assure my faithful subjectis with some ouverture of home calling the banished. So that within short space I hope to have hereof some good answer. He tellis me he could not have any communication be tong with Robert Bruce, seing himself so vigilantly observed, that he was constrayned to remit him to mak him understand be letter what he had negotiat there for my service. But with al this have I bene advertist that my Lord of Athol, a litle before his death, had some il opinion of him, in such sorte as many have since made difficultie to medle with him. Every one assures me that my sonne recognoscis infinitly his debvore towardis me, and that the poor chylde dar not shew it in the captivite he is, fearing therthrow, as there is great appearance, the hasard of his lyfe. He was thre dyvers tymes at counsal, upon the recept of Nau, mainteaning be advyse that the superscription of my letter, bearing without any other style, to my sonne, micht suffise unto them, and often tymes asked them if the title of king stayed him to be my sonne, and I his mother, in such sorte as the counsal had ones yealded unto him, and Nau wold have bene on the next day admitted, without the messinger whom Tullibarden made run al that night to Morton, advertising him that al the counsale did favor that visitation, if he came not in extreme diligence to empesche the same be his presence. And in effect, Morton made such haste that from

thretty-six myle long he arrived at two houris efter dinner at Stirling, where sodanly he made change the first deliberation in such answer as if the said Nau wold cum agane with letters from me geaving my sonne the title of king, he and his counsall shold receave him with al the favour they could, but that without this recognossence my sonne wold not in any wyse recognosce his commissions, or cause treat with him be any of his said counsal, who offred unto him al courtoisy for his awin particulare, if he wold set asyde the charge he had of me. Hereupon Nau made meanes under thome that a gentilman of . . . . who was with him micht kys my sonnis handis; but my sonne had no sooner layd his hand in this gentleman's sholder then he was drawin be the sleif, in sorte that he could not speik unto him one sillabe only. Be this may every one know the feare which these tratours have of my sonnis good nature toward me; and, if that Nau had had liberty to have spokin with him, if such visitation had not disfavoured their faction, which faileth daily, and, zit, notwithstanding, doeth, as one very nere his end, at his most strong effectis, not knowing more on what syde to turne him. For it is not in the powar of any prince on lyfe to maintene them any whyle longar against the people and so many of the nobilite, who hayt to death their tyranny and unjust authorite. They have promised to bring my sonne to Edinburch within a moneth or two at leatest, al the cuntrey making therefor an extreme and continuel instance. But I cannot beleve it, if before they find not out some meanis to be assured of him, and to prevent, as I have said, the practikis which they know to be in wriking with strangers. Heirin I must lament the intelligence that these here have so great, as wel in France as in Scotland; nothing almost being treated for my service in any of them, but that they are incontinent advertist of it, as I have learned be their letters speachis, and cheifly for my sonne his marriage with the Princesse of Lorraine, whereof they know the whol negotiation as wel with France as Spain.

The fourth of July, at Chattisworth.

Endorsed:—Received the 23rd September, 1579.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 20th January, [1580.]

My Lord of Glasgow,--Although I have lately written to you very fully of every thing most important to the good of my affairs, according to their present state, I will not permit this opportunity to pass without assuring you of the conclusion and settlement of the marriage of the duke my brother-in-law, and of his approaching arrival in this kingdom; which many here are unwilling to believe until now, seeing so little apparent advantage for the said duke in all this negotiation, and less of agreement between the two parties, whence the others suspect them to have some hidden and secret design, which cannot yet be discovered here; and, from what you write to me by your last, of the opinion which the wisest in France have of it, I perceive that few people are of this party.

For my part, I have been, from the beginning, very glad that by this innovation and treaty of marriage, the government of affairs here has changed hands, and that my friends and well inclined, chiefly the Catholics, have found more liberty in the exercise of their religion, authority in the country, and influence at court; and, on the contrary, my enemies driven back and enfeebled: which has made me so much the more willingly exert myself in favour of the said marriage, of which they consider the effect so uncertain. But now, seeing things so advanced, and considering to what they may turn and be carried, I feel that it is very necessary for me to seek some security for myself from the said duke, before that he is farther established here; and, in case that I do not find it sufficient to secure him, to look for some other means of protecting myself against him, and endeavour to break his designs, if they tend to my prejudice. Wherefore I desire, that, visiting the said duke in my name, you will recommend to him, and cause to be recommended by my relations, my condition here, so that in time he may procure for me some more favourable and courteous treatment, and take care that no wrong be done to me, during his government, in the succession of this kingdom, demonstrating to him the right which I have to it, in

the maintenance of which I hope that the greatest and best part of England will hazard their lives. And, therefore, you will gain for me a great advantage, if you can sound him so far as to conjecture or discover the ground of his intentions, whatever happens; and you may tell him freely that I shall think myself ill requited, and those of my party, if, after having willingly assisted him in all his pursuits and negotiations here, and undertaken on his account the ill will of his enemies, I should be, in the end, deserted and neglected by him in the preservation of my person and my rights; of which I shall never be convinced till after the proof, whatever impression several have wished to make on me here, and on many Catholics, who trust much in him and in his constancy to their religion. If he should propose to write to me, offer him readily to convey to me the letters, and communicate on the above with Simier, whom every one considers a very wise gentleman, secret, well informed, and extremely attached to the Catholic religion. He, perhaps, can manage it as well as his master.

In the meanwhile, do not omit to execute diligently what by my last I have written to you to negotiate with Spain, and urgently insist on having some express reply, from which we may afterwards extract some prompt resolution; for in the state in which the affairs of this country are at present, and, as I again understand, those of Scotland are, it will be very easy to form great intrigues and factions; and, in my opinion, I never have had so much opportunity and convenience for looking to the restoration of my affairs as now. The parliament, which has been prorogued so long, is to assemble on the last of this month, when my friends have promised me to watch that nothing shall be passed to my disadvantage. Those of the council here, have lately proposed to me not to employ the ambassador of France henceforward, to avoid the jealousy which this queen has always had of him, and that they would rather grant me a resident at her court to manage my matters and look after what concerned my service and treatment; which, by the answer which I have sent to them, I have neither accepted nor refused.

Leicester and the Puritans of his faction are in greater disfavour than ever, and there remains to him no hope of reinstating himself, except by an open rebellion, so eagerly do his enemies seek his ruin and destruction. I have been informed that he is of the party in favour of the French Huguenots, with the Duke Casimir,* hoping by this means to defer or break off the marriage of this queen.

They have written to me from Scotland that M. d'Aubigny has resolved to settle there, and that he has sent for his wife and children; upon which I have thought that my relations ought to send, in the suite of the said lady, some person competent and capable to execute, on their part, what I have formerly written about on a similar occasion. If I had had leisure, I would have sent you a new despatch to that effect.

---

* Strype, *sub anno* 1578, has the following pleasant notice of this Huguenot: "Duke John Casimire, son of the elector palatine of the Rhine, was now come to the English court: a man of worth and valour, a firm Protestant, and a hearty favourer of the religion; and that assisted the Netherlands in their defensive wars. He was highly favoured by the queen he came; and at his departure, which was in February 1578, when he took his leave of the queen, she presented him with two cups of gold, of several fashions, worth £300 a-piece. But there was, it seems, something to do, to bring her hereinto, being a frugal princess, and sensible of her necessary and unavoidable expenses. And Secretary Walsingham was the great mover, and employed therein with the queen. He was a few days before chosen of the order of the garter; and the Earl of Leicester gave him for a present a rich collar and *george* at it, and two *georges* besides; whereof one of them was an agate, a curious and rich piece. Also the Earl of Pembroke sent him from Wilton (where he was now retired, being not well) a fair *george* at a chain of gold, set with stones, which cost £150. The Earl of Leicester gave him also divers other things, as geldings, hawks, and hounds, wood-knives, falchions, horns, crossbows, and sundry pieces of broad cloth, fit for hunting-garments, both in winter and summer. For the said Duke Casimire delighted greatly in hunting, and could choose his winter deer very well. A little before, he killed a barren doe with his piece in Hyde-park, from among three hundred other deer. The Earl of Huntingdon was to go with the Duke to Gravesend, and Sir Henry Sydney to Dover. And the Earl of Leicester had been almost continually with him since his coming to London."—*Annals*, vol. ii. part ii. page 160, Oxford edition of 1824.

They have tried to persuade my son that I had a secret and very familiar correspondence with the duke, and that I was deliberating to disinherit him and dispossess him of Scotland, which tends but to foster differences between him and me; and therefore it is necessary for me to let him know the truth by the first safe conveyance that you can procure. Advise the chief of my subjects who are in France to solicit and effect their return to Scotland; for I am assured that they can easily obtain it, and with perfect safety, being able to do me much service there, especially if Morton leaves the country, as they say he intends.

Send me the payment in advance for de Chaulnes by Arnault, his brother-in-law; and give the bearer of this thirty crowns, giving him charge of what you may send to me in his master's vessel.

I have not yet received your preserves; besides which I wish that you would procure me some Spanish ones, which are very much valued here. I await your despatch by the ordinary conveyance, either on the return of the said Arnault, or before, to order and see to the regulation and management of my finances. Write to me fully by return of this bearer, whom I warrant you is faithful.

Written at Sheffield, this 20th January.

If Arnault has already set out, see that you send to me his brother-in-law's money in a box secretly, as you have already been accustomed to do, without mentioning it either to this bearer or his companion Thomas. The cipher here enclosed, marked S, is for my Lord of Ross; and the packet for the Laird of Fernihurst.

Endorsed:—Of 20th January, 1580. Received at Paris the 23rd February.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 20th February [1580.]

My Lord of Glasgow,—More not to lose the opportunity which offers itself than for any matter of importance which I

have at present, I think fit to write you this, accompanied by two memoranda of some necessaries which I desire to have as soon as possible, about the end of next summer; for I find myself so ill provided with clothes that I have been obliged to write to Madame de Mauvissière to send me, in the meantime, wherewith to make me a gown and a *soutane;* and, with respect to the gold articles, I need them, as you know, for tokens and new-year's gifts, of which I have been much in want last new-year's day. You will also receive an order for the sum of ten thousand livres, which I wish as an extraordinary sum to be sent to me by you, annually, to be set aside and reserved for my use, if I should require it on any occasion of importance, as some day or other it may chance to happen.

Cause the clothes to be made by Jacques de Senlis, whom I have resolved to employ in room of the late John de Compiène; and, with this view, I made him take measure of all my dresses on his last journey hither. Mademoiselle Du Verger can relieve you from the trouble of purchasing linen, silk, lace, and other small articles which she has been in the habit of sending to me. As for the mode of conveying them safely to me, ascertain from the servants of my host, who are presently at Rouen, if they can take charge of them among any other articles, or in the name of their master; and, failing them, direct the parcel to M. de Mauvissière, desiring him to send it to me by the conveyance which he is in the habit of employing. But the first mode seems to me the safest, especially if you send me any money, as I wrote to you in my last.

I must not forget to tell you that the negotiation of the marriage of this queen seems to grow a little cool, since the second visit of Stafford to the duke, my brother-in-law. To which I know that the said Stafford, influenced by Lady Sheffield, who is reconciled to Leicester, has greatly contributed by the sinister reports which he made of the said duke, on his return from his first journey. Many, who are the declared abettors of the said marriage, are very much afraid that the said Leicester, on being restored to favour, will revenge

himself for the good will which they have exhibited towards the said duke; and, to obviate that, they are resolved to maintain, even by open force, those who are in power at present; whom, for my own part, I have every reason to think more agreeable than those of the past, both for the good treatment which I expect from them in this imprisonment, and as having less to fear from their party than from that of Huntingdon, with whom the said Leicester is openly associated. And, therefore, I desire that you will show to the king and the queen-mother how much the restoration of the said Leicester affects them, feeling himself so grievously offended by them as to profess himself at all times the enemy of France, in order that, by all the means in their power, they may keep him down, or, at least, as counterbalance to the opposite faction. Upon which you will take occasion to let them know the bad opinion which, to my great regret, many of my friends and enemies have of the small effect of their good will towards me, and of the little care and respect which, to the present moment, they have had to the preservation and re-establishment of my affairs; some complaining from the affection which they bear to the good of my said affairs, and distrustful of all support from them, should an occasion of importance happen; others reproaching me in these terms, —that I labour, place myself in danger, and excite many enemies, for those who do not care for me the value of a straw, and make no account of it; which I myself am unwilling to believe, notwithstanding the bad treatment which, for some time past, I have received for my jointure. But I should be much pleased if they would give less occasion to those, who, on their account, have become my enemies, to use such reproaches to me, and to my friends more assurance of their good will and promises, in order to maintain them in the full affection, which, from regard to me, and according to my inclination, they have always borne to France.

They inform me that M. d'Aubigny has had no recommendation or command in my behalf, or that of my faithful subjects, from the king and the queen-mother;* some parties

* D'Aubigny was only in correspondence with the Duke of Guise,

suspecting that the main object of his journey is in relation to the succession which he pretends to the crown, in the event of my son's death; and, from the information which this queen has received of it, of which she is in very great jealousy, she has begun to show herself more favourable towards me, and I believe that with little difficulty she might be induced to employ me against the faction of the said D'Aubigny, if I would agree to it.

My son's government begins greatly to displease the Scotch, who charge him with being too young and volatile. It is a proof of the evil disposition of those who cannot endure any lawful authority over them, and would more patiently suffer, as they have done, the yoke, cruelty, and tyranny, of the most detestable and wicked among themselves; which has in such a manner disheartened me from living in a kingdom so disordered, that, were it not for the respect which I have for the Catholic religion, the person of my son, and the preservation of those who remain faithful subjects to me, I should never give myself concern about anything whatever which depended on Scotland alone, where, I may tell you freely, I would claim nothing, although to-day I could recover it, of which the will did not remain to me with all sovereign authority. So I have not made great efforts for it, expecting more from this side than from any other.

I send you a small packet for George Douglas, begging you to cause it be delivered to him with the greatest expedition in your power.

Do not fail to write to me particularly what you shall have been able to learn of the King of Spain's army, and of that of the Pope; for which they are in great alarm here, and fear that there is to be an invasion of Ireland, according to the confession of a Spanish soldier who has been taken prisoner, to whom they have applied the rack.

My host has been very unwell for some time, and thinks that he is not to live long; which has been the cause of the

---

and, in order to prevent all indiscretion on this subject, they made even at the French court a mystery of the real object of his mission.

anxious endeavours made by several noblemen to have the custody of me. Whereupon this queen sent here, four days ago, one of the gentlemen of her chamber, named Middlemore, to visit my said host, and, under such pretext, learn the state of this house. If, upon his report, this intrigue continues, endeavour that the king may write as favourably as he can to have me placed in safety. Remember me to my cousin the Duke of Guise, and remind him of what I last wrote to you of the treaty with Spain.

I have received the alphabet from Robert Melvil, to whom I shall not reply until I have the other more copious letters which he informs me he has written; being well pleased that he and his brother Dàvid have been restored by parliament. And so I pray God that He may have you, my Lord of Glasgow, in His holy keeping.

Written at Sheffield, this 20th of February.

Endorsed:—Of 20th February, 1580. Received by Pasquier the 4th March.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 18th March [1580.]

My Lord of Glasgow,—I have never hoped for a very much better result, in reference to the support which I required from the King of France, than what you have written to me in your last of 31st December and 26th January; so you will have learned, by my former ones, how, foreseeing what would be the success of it, I have wished to gain time by another overture and negotiation, being unable, in the state I am in, to do anything else but seek, from all parts, some foreign aid, without which I do not see how they can achieve, either here or in Scotland, any enterprise of great importance. And, therefore, I desire that, with all possible diligence, you will strive to obtain a certain reply to what I wrote to you to propose to the Spanish ambassador; in order that, if the king his master inclines to listen to it, they may direct the plans necessary to this effect in Scotland to antici-

pate in time such as those in this quarter make there, whether it be to get the person of my son into their hands, as some have informed me, or to reinstate the credit and authority of Morton and those of his faction, to which it is very necessary to look promptly.

I hear that the Hamiltons are of the party, and that, under pretence of their restoration, this queen has resolved to send in a short time an army to Scotland, which has caused my son to withdraw to Stirling, with the determination, if he should find himself pressed, of gaining Dumbarton. Inform the Duke of Guise of this, so that, if necessity requires it, he may speak of it, and you also, to the king; and, in default of all other remedy and assistance, he may himself attempt the removal of my son, as I have formerly written, it being now more easy than ever to execute it, by means of the Earl of Argyll, and of M. d'Aubigny, who have all power and authority about him, and even with consent of the child, when he shall perceive himself sued from this side in behalf of those whom he has always considered as enemies.

And, in the meantime, it will be very proper that the Duke of Guise should dispatch some gentleman to my son, under pretence of visiting him, as he himself has desired, in order to treat with those who are about him, who will not suffer him to know all that they write, if by chance there should happen any difficulty about the title of king, for which the Duke of Guise can excuse himself upon the ground of the advantage which my rebels would take of it (inasmuch as that would be to approve of all their rebellions and past treasons, wherein he may be sure that my son would not, in any manner whatever, be seen to participate, nor to sanction them with his own dishonour, and the blame which would redound to him therein throughout Christendom); and that he need not doubt that I will heartily concede it to him, and assure him of all that pertains to me in this world, when he shall recognize his duty towards me. Endeavour, also, that the Duke of Guise may send him a couple of horses ready broken, for I have heard that he has sent to ask for them here.

It appears to me that the king cannot allege any apparent

reason for refusing me his assistance in such extremity, if it should happen, inasmuch as this queen will have been the first to infringe the stipulations of their alliance; and the treaty of marriage with his brother is in such terms that it cannot do much injury to it, as Pinart has represented to you. I regret that the king and his council have had hitherto so little care of their adherents my faithful subjects, who, seeing themselves abandoned, are constrained to sue to his enemies and mine, who do not reject them, but dexterously know to strengthen themselves with them. However, I cannot approve of my Lord Claude and his brother,* united, as they say, with Morton, having gone so far into this negotiation without my knowledge, especially with the Earl of Huntingdon and Walsingham, the leaders of my enemies in this kingdom, to whom they must be reciprocally obliged, beyond their duty, to extract from them the assistance which is promised to them; and, however it may be, they cannot treat and conclude to my advantage with these people, who so long have sought for my destruction and that of my son, to advance the pretension of the said Earl of Huntingdon in the succession of this crown.

I fear that M. de Mauvissière has not given information of this design, and that, in consequence of this, they have not recalled the pension of my Lord Arbroath, whose intention I beg you will sound, and soon speak to him on the subject in my name, declaring to him that I desire more than any other their restoration, having enjoined it to my son, and caused it to be procured by those who remain faithful to me about him, when Nau went to Scotland, now that my recommendation has been of so little force and effect, but the means which they employ is to me infinitely suspicious and disagreeable. They know, and you can prove to them, the little correspondence which I have had with the said Aubigny, who has gained the footing which he has in Scotland in a manner

* Lord Claude Hamilton and Lord Arbroath. It appears that the Scottish Queen had not been aware of all that had passed between them and Morton.

against my will. For you may remember that I retarded and interrupted his journey as far as I could; and yet I have no cause for agreeing with him, except in default of another more certain and ready method of ruining, as he has commenced, Morton's faction, which is the sole and principal ground for the restoration of my affairs, and for bringing back my son to my interests; but, besides this consideration, for the affection which he ought to feel to his own, from whom I have received so many annoyances and afflictions. And, to conclude this, I beg and charge you most expressly to see, according to your duty and fidelity, as much as you can to the preservation of my son, as that which I hold most dear in this world, in case that my enemies proceed further or by force against him, under the name of the said Hamiltons, to whom they draw, not so much to assist them, as to strengthen themselves against me and my son.

I cannot tell you the excessive sorrow and uneasiness which I have had, in consequence of the news from Robert Melvil, which had been concealed from me till now, owing to my last illness; but since then, having communicated with Bourgoing, he has assured me, by his God, that there is no appearance of danger, and I myself had the same indigestion about the same age, from which I may say that Lusgérie alone relieved me, contrary to the opinion of all his fellows; and therefore you will do well to consult with him, so as to send his advice and prescription to some of the principal people about my son, to give orders therein. I remember especially that they made me wear ivory on the stomach, and that I used confected nuts and nutmegs before refection. Discharge, also, the vow which I formerly made for my said son, namely, to send his weight in virgin wax, when it could be procured, to our Lady of Cléry, and cause a novena to be said there. Besides which, I desire that you cause a mass to be sung in the said church daily, for the space of a year, and distribute there each day thirteen *trezains** to thirteen poor persons, the first who present themselves on each successive day.

---

* A coin of base metal, worth thirteen pence sterling.

On Monday last there arrived here a man from my Lord Seton, who assured me that my son is quite well, and that he is growing stout and very strong from the exercise which he takes since he has some liberty. As to what the said Lord Seton has written to me of the journey which his son was about to take to Spain, requesting me to appoint him my ambassador there, it is a thing so full of suspicion, that the least rumour of it here or in France would greatly retard the effect of all that, by other means, I could negotiate; and therefore I consider it safer to proceed secretly by you and the gentlemen my relations, without being burdened with anything which relates to it.

Advise again my faithful subjects who are banished, to return with all speed, while there is need of their service, and that they can, by this means, make themselves acceptable to my son to restore them to their estates. For my part, I find as little means as opportunity to prosecute my return to Scotland, until things are in a better state to secure and maintain my authority there. And yet, if I could accomplish, on whatever terms, my deliverance from this captivity, I do not doubt that my affairs would be in every way better regarded and promoted. But I see few who exert themselves to make me the way, and fewer have safely taught me to set myself forward. I had, as I wrote to you, entertained some overtures here, rather in the view of sounding the ford than of crossing it; but, in consequence of the duke's marriage, all has been interrupted, as I was afraid of causing myself to be distrusted by this queen, and of injuring the effect of this marriage, much desired by all the Catholics of this kingdom. I think that to enter more safely and honourably into a negotiation for my deliverance, it should begin on the part of my son and the chief of the Scottish nobility, making it be requested by them, and thereafter adding the recommendations and urgent entreaties of Christian princes, which, with my own and those of the friends whom I have here, would, in my opinion, strike a great blow; otherwise I do not see, at present, any appearance of bringing it to an end. Write to me upon this the private opinion of yourself and my other

friends and servants, to whom you write to me you have spoken concerning it, so that I may know what other means they can propose to me.

If possible, make Balfour* write to me fully about the bond which he saw signed for the murder of the late king my husband, or give you a copy of it written by his own hand. Do not suffer to pass, accordingly, the insult which was paid me in the last ceremony of the Holy Ghost, and complain of it very urgently to the king and the queen-mother, to whom I shall write regarding it by the first opportunity, now that I think that this difficulty will not exist if the King of Spain preserves his right to the succession of Portugal, where I hear that he employs his army.

Leicester is still in disfavour, although he disguises it as much as he can. They give me great hopes of gaining Burleigh completely, which, were it so, I should think that I had made a great conquest. They say that the Earl of Oxford is soon going to Spain; if he takes his route through France, tell the Duke of Guise to use him, on my account, as courteously as he can. Cause to be done quickly what I have ordered to Wilson, inasmuch as he has been very hastily warned by M. de Mauvissière. Deliver to Morgan one hundred crowns, to make up the six hundred livres of which I have made him a present for this year. I await your reply regarding the particulars of the institution of the seminary, that I may see

---

* Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, promoted, after holding many snug appointments, to the office of Lord President of the Court of Session, in 1567. He was a horrible scoundrel,—the worthy scion of a house in which (according to one equally infamous, John Knox) "was neither fear of God nor love of virtue, farther than the present commodity persuaded them." He is generally believed to have been the deviser of Darnley's murder, and to have framed the bond for mutual support entered into by the conspirators on that occasion. See in Bannatyne's Journal (Bannatyne Club edition, p. 299) a curious complaint against him and his brother, laid before the Lords of Articles in 1573, wherein it is stated that "whenever he saw tyme, he could wagge as the buss wagged, and take the way that micht make him advancment, howbeit that same wer to the distructione of all honest and godly men, and of his native cuntrey also."

thereto according to your advice. And, in the meanwhile, I pray God that He may have you, my Lord of Glasgow, in His holy keeping.

Written at Sheffield, this 18th March.

Endorsed:—Of 18th March, 1580. Received at Paris the 7th April.

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Cotemporary Copy.—British Museum, London, MSS. Cotton, Caligula C. VI.* fol. 22.]

From Sheffield, the 2d May 1580.

Madam, my good sister,—I have written to you several times during the last year, to lay before your consideration the unworthy and rigorous treatment which I have received in this captivity, notwithstanding the evidence which I have made a point of giving you, on all occasions, of my entire and sincere affection for you, even at the time I was most in affliction, and desired only, by reason that the paper could not contain more, to communicate with some one of your people to learn from him your disposition, so that I might conform myself to it more accurately for the future, and, casting from between us all cause of suspicion and distrust, establish a perfect friendship for our mutual safety, and the benefit, greatness, and prosperity of this island. But this my proposal and resolution having undergone the scrutiny and opinion of those who have founded their greatness and promotion upon our difference, has been so disguised to you by their usual artifices and false inventions, that I have been constrained, for a season, to make no more importunity therein; in the expectation that of yourself you would be pleased to recognise the advantage which you might receive from it, reserving myself to give you proof thereof for your satisfaction, as I have done in every thing which I could learn to concern and be agreeable to you; for which you know if I have not still the enmity of some, and on your account alone. Nevertheless I have since seen no appearance, as I had hoped, that all which has been done by me has

in any way served you, but rather I have day after day experienced loss of courtesy, favour, and support in all that relates to me here, as well towards my person as otherwise. My enemies, on the contrary, have full liberty and general dispensation to do me evil, being by you bound and held without any means of preserving myself from them, in default of your protection, being not even permitted to vindicate myself, as I have so often desired, from what they have falsely imputed to me against you. Now, Madam, I must admit that my experience of the evil disposition of some of my enemies near you, and the confirmation of it which I have recently had, when least I could have deserved it, has deprived me of all hope, whatever is my opinion of your good nature, of being ever able, as long as I am left in their power, of preserving in your favour the rest and tranquillity which I had, according to your intention, proposed to myself in this captivity, expecting the fruit and just reward of it. Thus I am constrained to beg and entreat you, as I humbly do, by my liberation out of this prison, to relieve yourself from the charge which I am to you, and from the continual suspicions, mistrusts, and prejudices with which they daily trouble you against me; since by no other way do I see that you can order things better. For in obliging me by this kindness I shall refuse no just and reasonable conditions to assure you completely, in whatever part of Christendom I may be, of the perpetual gratitude which I shall owe to you therefor (which consequently will serve you on the part of my son), protesting that from this moment, before Almighty God, my intention is to regard and observe sincerely what shall therein be settled and concluded, without ever doing any thing to the contrary, and to your prejudice or that of this kingdom; as in truth I confess that I neither have nor am to have for it forces and means; and so far in that at least you ought to be free from distrust and suspicion.

Consider, if you please, that I have never hitherto failed in my promise to you, and, for having sometimes kept it too rashly, I have received much detriment from it. Think that you can have me, out of prison, more your own,

binding my heart to you by so signal a courtesy, than by confining my body within four walls, compulsion not being the usual mode of gaining much from those of my rank and disposition, of which you may have had some experience from the past. I am sure that, if you call to your recollection how upon your pledge, which was sent to me with a ring from you, shortly before the last troubles in Scotland, I of my good and free will and own deliberation placed myself in your hands to seek the assistance which you had promised me against my traitorous rebel subjects, you will consider in your conscience my request very reasonable, and the remonstrances, which may be made to you to the contrary, altogether unfounded in reason or justice, which holds even the prisoners of war worthy of consideration, as in this kingdom all your predecessors have shown towards many foreign princes who were not entitled to it by any reason of affinity; with much more reason, having this honour, besides that of being born a sovereign queen, of being at this time the nearest relative which you have in Christendom, and I may say most lawful heretrix, what credit do you think you can derive from allowing me, without pity, to languish so many years in so miserable a condition, and by a continuance of the evil treatment which to the present moment I have received to end my days, already now far advanced. In truth, I think, seeing the great infirmities which I have had for some years, and the state in which I am at present with my health, which cannot much longer support the treatment to which I have been accustomed in time past when younger and stronger, that in a short while death will deliver me from it, if you do not prevent it by receiving in time some better reward and advantage from my long captivity. And for the present I entreat you to allow me to go to the baths of Buxton, inasmuch as I have not found here any remedy more efficacious for the complaint in my side, with which I am excessively tormented. I shall await your answer in all this, that by it you may declare more fully and particularly what on my part can serve to the accomplishment of an overture so just and reasonable, as much to your honour, peace, and security, as

to my especial good. And now, after commending myself very affectionately to your favour, I shall pray God to give to you, Madam my good sister, a good and long life.

From Sheffield, this 2d of May, the twelfth year of my imprisonment.

Your very affectionate sister and faithful cousin,

MARIE R.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From the Manor of Sheffield, the 20th May [1580].

My Lord of Glasgow,—to relieve you from the anxiety in which I am sure that you have been thrown by the apprehension of Jailheur, I shall in the first place assure you that he has delivered to me safely your two last of the 27th February and 26th March, having fortunately escaped from the hands of Walsingham, by favour of his master,* who nevertheless has prohibited him this house eight or ten days after his arrival here, resolved henceforward not to be served in France by him or his companions, but to employ there some others more competent and capable. I shall endeavour, if I can, that it shall be some one at my command; so that, by the general order which I shall give him, according to your advice, for the conveyance of my ordinary wants, I may also from him obtain service in my more important and secret matters.

I have privately heard of the negotiation of Devray, tending only, by the solicitation which he makes for the marriage, to lay the blame of the rupture upon those here, among whom nevertheless several of the greatest, wisest, and best informed are persuaded to the contrary. I do not know if it is by the extreme desire which they have for it, or to maintain constantly, by this conduct, their credit with their mistress, in the same manner as those of the other faction work on all sides to make the marriage drum be sounded in France,

---

* The Earl of Shrewsbury.

Leicester having sold a considerable part of his property, and all the Puritans of his faction having voluntarily assessed themselves to provide means for . . . . . and the Prince of Orange executing that which they have together designed and concluded. And by the same I am informed that the levy made in Germany by the Duke Casimir is at the instigation and cost of this particular faction, confederated for the ruin of all the Catholic princes, who labour in vain to cling to their subjects, if in the first place they do not deprive them of the foreign assistance and support which has enabled them so long to subsist.

The negotiation of the marriage of the Princess of Lorraine with the Duke had got wind here long before the receipt of your last. Whereon calling to mind in what manner M. d'Alençon* had proceeded with me, I must direct you to tell M. de Guise freely that he ought rather to resolve to me the intention of the said M. d'Alençon, so as to employ the time which I have lost in some other way, with more effect and not less show ; and to recover it, without leaving me to be led farther by any vain expectation from that quarter, I beseech you to prosecute, as urgently as you can, the conclusion of the overture made by you to the Spanish ambassador, of which I assure you that I have made no other one a participant but you only, so far from my Lord of Ross or any other having had instructions from me to speak of it ; and if they have done so, I disavow them in it. What otherwise you have heard of it proceeds rather from the common conversation of the country and from suspicion, than from any particular information of what has been done in the matter. Now, to advance this negotiation more expeditiously, you will propose to the said ambassador the removal of my son to Flanders or Spain, according as shall be agreeable to the king his master ; and thereon, promising to effect it, as I think I shall be able to do, you will demand to be quickly informed of the intention of the said king of Spain, to act therein with

* Mary continued to give the Duke of Anjou the old title by which she had so long known him.

all the diligence in your power. Even from this moment I desire that you will enter upon a negotiation to this effect with those of my party in Scotland, and urge them in my name to remove my son out of the country, either to France or Spain, for there is no place in Christendom where he will not be better for his own safety and mine than in the hands of this wicked Morton, who will be no less prodigal of his life than of that of his late father, if he cannot assure himself by any other means.

Besides this, the Puritans here, upon whom this traitor depends, do not, as by their league with the Hamiltons they have made it apparent, desire less the ruin of the son than that of the mother, to promote the unjust pretensions of Huntingdon, endeavouring daily to persuade this queen to remove my said son here. And, both for this reason and others not less important, I have lately written to the said queen and those of her council for my deliverance from this captivity; which, by reason of the last change in this kingdom, on which depends at present that of Scotland, I find, contrary to the opinion of my best friends here, much more necessary now than before, both for the preservation and safety of my son's person and mine, and the maintenance of our right in the succession of this crown. I shall omit no possible means, nor refuse any just condition, to arrive thereat, and, in case that I cannot by this mode of agreement, I shall expose myself to the risk of such other invention as may present itself; but in the meanwhile, if things do not succeed, it is of much importance to me that my son should be out of the power of those here; among whom I can say that I have comported myself as circumspectly as I could, whatever offence I have received from the faction which all along has been my enemy for the religion and the crown to which they pretend, so that there remains for me with them no room for conference or reconciliation in future, and the more that I forbear with them, they take the more impudent license in doing me evil.

Since the gentlemen my relations find that they cannot send to visit my son without giving him the title of king,

although they might have done so since the arrival of M. d'Aubigny in Scotland, I beseech them at least, and especially M. de Guise, to testify to him and inform him of their good will by the said M. d'Aubigny, to keep always the one and the other devoted to me.

I have seen, within these four days, a particular narrative of the whole present state of affairs in Scotland, with a list of the lords of each party, by which I judge that of Aubigny is much the strongest, if this queen does not interfere in it, as she already has begun by her ambassador Bowes,* whom she has lately sent to my son in favour of Morton and the Hamiltons. I cannot believe that my cousin of Arbroath is a party to this correspondence; but, at all events, I think it safer to discover his real intention before you deliver to him entirely what you may receive from the Spanish ambassador.

I see no foundation in all which Balfour has written to me till the present hour, and I am less able to trust him much, after having been so unfortunately betrayed by him; however, it will be very proper to keep him in humour, if an opportunity occurs for his service, as it may happen. Inform him from me that, for want of a cipher with him, I have not written to him, but that the testimony of his good will, by the information which he has given to me, has been very acceptable to me, now that my necessity, as you have already told him, and the risk to which I should expose myself, in the condition in which I am, do not permit me to attempt any enterprise of great moment, especially in Scotland, if my subjects of themselves do not begin to set forward matters there in some better condition, so as to give me an opportunity of interposing in them with the prospect of some good

---

* Robert Bowes, fifth son of Richard Bowes, captain of Norham, and Elizabeth Aske, and only surviving brother of Sir George Bowes, knight, Elizabeth's active marshall in the suppression of the northern rebellion. He was treasurer of Berwick, where he died; and was interred there 16th December 1597. The correspondence of Bowes, during his embassy in Scotland, was published by the Surtees' Society in 1842. The collection is very important, but its utility is greatly diminished by the want of a good index,—an omission very imperfectly supplied by any table of contents.

result; and, therefore, that he should labour with his connexions to prepare things for what he has proposed to me, the principal foundation depending on the ruin of Morton.

I highly approve of Robert Melvil's advice regarding the Earl of Crawford; but, besides that Lord Lindsay,* his tutor, holds against me what belongs to the said earl, I think that he has no need of any pension, since he enjoys his own property.

The too great negligence of the King of France appears to give audacity to those here to attack him in his own kingdom, in suffering his ancient allies and confederates to receive the law from them, without his daring even to open his mouth. Endeavour your utmost to discover his intention regarding the obstacles which you have received, in your character of ambassador, so that, according to the answer which you receive, I shall know how to write to him regarding it. If upon that which you have requested the Florentine ambassador to make known in my name you have no satisfaction, I am not of opinion that you should proceed farther.

As to your own matters, I wish that, notwithstanding all other orders, you should be paid what I have directed; which I should have thought that Dolu had by this time done, inasmuch as he has had control of the statement which he sent to me of the expenditure of the last year. But it appears to me that the superintendence of my affairs cannot cost you so much as you calculate, you being more fitting to employ yourself in it, as you offer, with an express commission, than without; that which I have sent to you, extending to all things relating in general or particular to the administration and government of my jointure, except the gifts which I reserve to myself, as all other princes are accustomed to do. I approve of the payment to your secretary Bruce, and send you herewith the acquittances of the other parties of whom

* For much information regarding the houses of Crawford and Lindsay, see the elegant and instructive "Lives of the Lindsays," by their amiable and highly accomplished descendant Alexander Lord Lindsay, privately printed at Wigan, 1840, 4 vols. royal 8vo.

you write to me. Jailheur has received, besides what he has had from you, as much from me as from M. de Mauvissière, nearly a hundred crowns by the same artifice with which he assisted himself in your instance. I thank you for the great care which you had for the plate concerning which I wrote to you, and for the information which you have given to me for the groundwork of my finances, upon which, all other parties being discharged, whether for myself or any one else, I expect that the sum which I have ordered shall be reserved for me, without which they must make some other provision for any opportunity that may arise. Continue to the son of my Lord Northumberland the good offices which you have begun, but as secretly as you can; and, if you are requested by his tutor to provide him with any money, supply him with it promptly. Wherefore, I pray God that He may have you, my Lord of Glasgow, in His holy and worthy keeping.

Written at the Manor of Sheffield, this 20th May.

Postscript by Nau:—Sir,—I protest to you that I have informed the queen of the contents of your last letters, and those of your secretary, concerning her majesty's service and your own matters; upon which you may comprehend the intentions of her said majesty by what she has written to you herself. I regret that it is not so much to your mind as I wish, and as I thought to have managed, according as I felt obliged thereto; but more than I, as you know, have a voice in the matter, and of both sexes. I swear to you, by the eternal God, that it is not in my power to do more than I have done hitherto, with so many difficulties and crosses on all sides, which I cannot at present explain. I endeavour to gain, step by step, what I know to be necessary for her majesty's service, the satisfaction of her best friends, and the retrenchment of the authority which others usurp; but it is with so little effect that I dare not make account of it, now that Monsieur Dolu knows how to complain and accuse me of faction. I send you the acquittances of parties furnished by you, or upon your certificates, of which in future it appears to me that it will be more correct and safe to make a roll, at the end of each year, in order not to insert, as I have

for some time done, any signed instructions among those secret dispatches. I shall not fail, by the ordinary conveyance, to send a discharge for the acquittal of your thousand crowns, before all other orders and previous assignations. As to the last orders which you have received, they have not passed without my having been sharply reproached that I resembled . . . . . and following his instructions of not leaving France with less money than I could; and that, of all the jointure, none had been better employed than that which was provided for the affairs here, from which they expected more fruit than from any other thing. In a word, they will not want presents and means to entertain this people. Even her majesty, understanding by your letters that I had written to you not to give yourself trouble in sending more preserves, was very much offended, asking me if I wished to mix myself up in the control of her. I kiss your hands very humbly, and shall remain, as long as I live, your very humble and attached servant. Her majesty has since taken leisure to write to Monsieur de Guise, in reply to those which he wrote to her since your last. The mark is S.

Endorsed:—Of 20th May, 1580. Received the 17th June, 1580, at Paris.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 12th January, [1581.]

My Lord of Glasgow,—Since my last of the 26th December, I have been informed of the imprisonment of the Earl of Morton, accused of the murder of the late king my husband, and that this queen has dispatched in his favour, towards my son, Randolph, my Lord Hunsdon, and Sir Robert Bowes, the one immediately after the other; the Earl of Huntingdon advancing, moreover, with ten thousand men towards Berwick, to pass into Scotland if they proceed farther against the said Morton. I need not expatiate upon the wicked design of the said queen and those of her council, having heretofore cruelly treated and persecuted those who were entirely inno-

cent of the said murder, as myself, the Hamiltons, and many others; and now wishing to maintain publicly him who is convicted as guilty, and found, by his own signature, to be one of the principal authors of it. I pray you, then, to make all duty and diligence in your power to expedite the execution of that whereof I wrote to you in my last, and in the meantime speedily advise my son to retire to Dumbarton Castle if he finds himself pressed, and to go to France or some other safe place, before matters come to an extremity; his person being of greater value to me than a hundred kingdoms of Scotland.

I have sent my remonstrances to this Queen on my right to the succession of this crown, requiring by them especially that I should be permitted to depute some one to the next Parliament, to show to the Lords thereof and the said Queen the justice of my cause, and my innocence of all that my enemies have heretofore imputed to me of having plotted against this state, being certain that they can bring forward no proof of it. Should such a thing be conceded to me, my intention is to employ you there, as the one who will acquit himself worthily and faithfully in it. In the meanwhile, assure the King and Monsieur de Guise that Leicester has plainly shown himself, by his conduct for some time past, the mortal enemy of France and me, with such obstinacy that nothing better from him can be expected in future, so that no one suffer himself to be misled by him. Desire Monsieur de Mauvissière to forward your letters to me more expeditiously.

Written at Sheffield, this 12th of January.

Endorsed:—Of 12th January 1581. Received the 3rd March 1581.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Decipher.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

From Sheffield, the 4th March, 1581.

My Lord of Glasgow,—Hoping that by this time you have made the acquaintance of the Spanish ambassador, newly arrived on that side, I will instruct you to testify by

him to the king his master, my good brother, the pleasure and satisfaction which I have received in hearing from you the rapid and fortunate success of his affairs in Portugal, believing that God has not granted to him such great and signal victories to arrest their course in his own dominions, but to make correspondent to his zeal and devotion to the restoration and maintenance of the Catholic religion, the means of carrying it into effect and speedily executing it, for the common good and peace of all Christendom. By the same medium, offer him my condolence on the death of the late queen, his wife,* whom I deeply regret for her virtues and deserts. The beautiful and accomplished family which she has left him, ought to be a very great consolation to strengthen him to support with firmness, as I am sure he has done, this loss and calamity.

As for the Scottish negotiation, until I learn what step she will take therein, in consequence of my last dispatch by Lord Ogilvy,† it will be enough that you particularly inform the said ambassador, that he may apprise the said king his master of them, of the recent proceedings of my son against Morton, his tendency to the Catholic religion, and the great appearances that there are of an open rupture shortly between him and the queen, wanting only the assurance of some prompt and available support to encourage him and cause him to be quite resolved in this good determination ; there being as yet no faction in Scotland in favour of the said Morton, or of this queen, although for a month past she has had an army on the borders to encourage such as should be in condition to stir for her; and, in a word, matters were never, thanks to God! so advantageously disposed in that quarter for being easily restored to a good state, and being seen to after those of this

* Queen Anna-Maria. She died of the plague, 27th Oct. 1580.

† James, sixth Lord Ogilvy of Airly. On Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven, his lordship joined her standard, and was one of those who signed the association in defence of Her Majesty on 8th May 1568. For his loyalty he suffered a long imprisonment, from which he was not released until James VI assumed the government.

country: which ought, it seems to me, greatly to induce the said king my good brother, to attend to them, both from respect to me and for the especial good of his own affairs, so as to strengthen them in time against the purposes of the league which is in treaty between France and this queen, on the strength of which Monsieur d'Alençon profits much in the Low Countries. Wherefore, you will urgently require that the support which the said king shall be pleased to grant to us, shall with all speed be sent to Ireland (where it will not remain, at all events, useless), and there be kept ready to cross quickly to Scotland, as soon as, matters being concluded and made certain, it shall be ordered. And, to expedite the determination thereof, it is very necessary that the said king should dispatch some one to Scotland to treat in his name, as I have formerly written to you. My design is, to conceal nothing from you, to endeavour, if possible, to send my son to Spain, both for promoting the proposed alliance and for bringing him into the faith ; so that, whether the war begins here or not, the said support is very necessary for the removal of my son, and the protection of the country in his absence.

Renew also your former solicitations to the Pope, apprising him of the present state of Scotland by his nuncio in France, or such other better medium as you can attain, to have from him 20,000 or 30,000 crowns, in accordance with the promise which he made, when a good opportunity, such as the present, occurred. And, in order that matters in Scotland may correspond with the same order and diligence, write to my Lord Ogilvy to endeavour, with as much expedition as possible, to ascertain my son's determination, and thereon, if he agrees to my design, to encourage him in his latter deportment towards this queen, by the certain assurance of ready support on the part of Spain, by the way of Ireland, and of being well and favourably received in both countries if he wishes to go there, as I think that it will be his best course, both to protect himself in time from the plots and circumventions of his enemies here, who seek, by every means, to seize him, and invade his country, and to promote and carry into effect

the marriage and alliance, so honourable and advantageous, which have been offered to me for him by the said King of Spain.

I desire that the said Lord Ogilvy shall attend principally to this point of the removal of my son, and endeavour by all means to persuade him to it, and in the meanwhile to dispatch some one of distinction, age, and competence, or the said Lord Ogilvy himself, to the said king, to thank him, with every demonstration of gratitude, for the honour which he has done him by agreeing to the said alliance, for the interest which he has been pleased to take in our kingdom and affairs, and for the courtesies and favours received from him by many of our subjects: to offer him, on my part and that of my son, in recognition of the above, all strict and perfect friendship, and the confirmation thereof, [both] by the committal of my son's person to the custody of the said King of Spain, and by a firm league between him and us, as he shall more particularly be advised: finally, to ask the assistance which may be required for the said removal and the defence of the country against those here, and to learn the pleasure of the said king on all points necessary for the execution of all this negotiation, to which it would aid much if the said Lord Ogilvy could succeed so far as to secure through my son (as is necessary) some harbour on the coast of Argyle, for the reception of the said assistance, and, for their preservation, some strongholds in the country, or places easily fortified. Give him information of this, and endeavour that, in case my son should not be so soon persuaded to send express into Spain, he may give you, nevertheless, charge to fulfil, in his name, what is above discussed for the said voyage.

I am earnestly exhorted to bring back my son to the faith, and to labour all at once for its restoration in this island, so as to engage in the cause all the Catholics in this country; but I do not think it expedient yet to urge my son much on this point, fearing that this urgency may do injury to others, by whom I do not doubt that he may be in time brought round; besides that, by mingling in this any religious matter, we might estrange from the party the Protestant peers,

whom, on account of their troops and great number, we cannot want; and, therefore, my plan would be to endeavour in the first place to put Scotland in a sure state at my command, and that of the said king, to be able afterwards to assist him by it in what we shall undertake in this country.

I beg you to write to me freely and plainly your good advice and counsel as to this negotiation, and all other things which you know to relate to the good of my affairs, so that I may in them be always better able to determine. Walsingham boasts much of being acquainted with the plans of my cousin Monsieur de Guise for my deliverance, and also with the negotiations which have been entered into respecting it, and the affairs of Scotland, in his cabinet; offering, likewise, to prove that I have written to you in these very words,—"That I shall leave no stone unturned to escape from this imprisonment." Consider from what quarter he could receive such information, and beware of it, I entreat you. For thereupon he had engaged an assistant to my host to look closer after me, and restrict me in the little liberty which I have; but my friends have hitherto prevented it. Wherefore, I pray God to have you, my Lord of Glasgow, in His holy keeping.

From Sheffield, the 4th March.

Endorsed:—Of 4th March, 1581. Received at Paris the 26th of the said month.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY QUEEN MARY TO M. DU RUISSEAU.

[*Cotemporary Copy.—From the Collection of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome.*]

Without date [2d September, 1582].

TO SERVE AS A MEMORANDUM TO M. DU RUISSEAU, OF THE PRINCIPAL POINTS ENTRUSTED TO HIM BY HER MAJESTY.

In the first place, he will thank, in Her Majesty's name, M. de Guise for the assurance which he has given to her, by the said M. de Ruisseau, of his undiminished affection for her and the prince her son; he will entreat him forthwith to proceed, with the utmost diligence that he can, in the execution

of his good designs, for the restoration of this island, and the assistance of the said prince, according as the state in which he is and the urgent necessity of affairs require it. Whereon after having made him acquainted with the particulars, which he has learned here, touching the last changes which have happened in Scotland, and how matters have proceeded in the said country by both the factions, and by the ambassadors of this queen, he will assure M. de Guise, on the part of Her Majesty, that the said prince her son hates extremely those who detain him at present, now that, for the safety of his own life, he is constrained to dissimulate with them; and therefore, she thinks that it would be easy to persuade him to escape from them, if he were certain of a safe place of retreat, either in the country or out of it.

To this effect, and to maintain always the lords and others of the favourable party in their duty and affection to Her Majesty, she earnestly desires that, as soon as he can, the King will be pleased to send some nobleman of distinction to Scotland for the ends that she has already written, and in the meantime, until the prince is set at full liberty, that all Scotch ships shall be laid under embargo in France, and commerce entirely prohibited between the two kingdoms; further, that from the king's guard shall be discharged all those who, in any way, are connected with the said conspirators or depend upon them.

Her Majesty consents that the prince her son shall be addressed as king by the ambassador of the said king of France, but after protestation is first made by the prince that it is in virtue of the union which Her said Majesty has recently granted to the said prince, and which has been accepted by him; and the said ambassador shall require, among the other negotiations, that the said union be published and passed in full parliament, according to the articles which Her Majesty now sends regarding it.

Let it be shown to the said king the danger to which the prince of Scotland's life is exposed, sought after and attempted by endless wicked designs here; also that it can be proved to him that the treasurer of Berwick, who was recently sent to the prince, had instructions to poison him, and, failing

that, to remove him to this kingdom, so that more securely they may get rid of him after the queen his mother; of which also he must give notice in Scotland.

That all this trouble in Scotland has been contrived here by the bribery with money and intrigues of Lord Ruthven and his adherents, with the approbation of this queen, in direct opposition to the leagues of these three kingdoms; and, therefore, the king of France will be requested to take the said prince openly under his protection, and to assist him in his so urgent need, or, at least, if he is not disposed to offend this queen, that he will give means to M. de Guise to assist the said prince, his kinsman, and permit him, at all events, to employ himself there.

Her Majesty is not of opinion that they should enter into any more particular and open negotiation with the said king, unless there is great hope of obtaining support from him, inasmuch as she is daily informed that the queen-mother is opposed to her, in every thing that she can, even in this country, and therefore she would be afraid of exposing herself by this means to the risk of her revealing the whole here.

If the negotiations set a-foot for the support of the prince and the restoration of this island should be unsuccessful, Her Majesty desires that they should by all means endeavour to persuade the prince to cross the sea, so as to put himself in a place of safety, while waiting for assistance. If, on the contrary, matters turn out well on the part of his Holiness and the king of Spain, until the troops are ready, she would be pleased if the said M. de Guise would send into Scotland from five to six hundred musketeers, who, on arriving at Dumbarton, might throw themselves into the castle, and thence to Blackness and Stirling Castle, if the governor remains faithful, to secure these fortresses. She hopes that the said M. de Guise will send some one to the Duke of Lennox, to inform him from himself how he will have to act in that event.

Now to have, in short, a last and final determination of all the proposals hitherto made both to his Holiness and the said king of Spain, wishing thereon to be resolved herself, for the rest of her life, and the whole life of the said prince henceforward, she has, by her own lips, very particularly informed

Father Henry* of her intention upon the whole, to make it known to his Holiness, and the brother of Nau her secretary to go to M. de Maigneville, entrusted with Her Majesty's matters in that quarter, as he is directed by the instructions; ordering that they may be dispatched in all speed, with such other instructions and memoranda as M. de Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow shall think advisable, according to opportunity. And especially they shall apprise his Holiness and the king of Spain what steps have been taken with the king of France, for the permission requisite for M. de Guise to interfere in this undertaking.

The last demands by . . . . . have been considered in Spain very bare, and insufficient for a deed of such importance as the said enterprise; wherefore they shall be augmented. Her Majesty thinks it better that to M. de Guise should be given the whole charge of the said enterprise, so as to make it less objectionable to the king of France; besides perhaps the said king of Spain, for fear of exciting the suspicion of the king of France and irritating this queen both at the same time, which would be to put two powerful enemies on his back, will be disposed not to declare himself openly, nor yet will leave the appointment of the principal colonels and captains of the army to the said Duke Guise, to secure it to himself; and it will be sufficient for the Pope to contribute some considerable sum of money, without being named; and by so doing is removed the difficulty suggested by the said M. de Guise, of going openly to Scotland, without any charge, and with few troops.

With regard to this country,† Her Majesty continues in her former opinion of doing nothing or agitating in it until matters are well reinstated in Scotland, except in case that this queen should wish to meddle in it, in which event, means will be found to prevent it by Her Majesty's friends and adherents here, of which the said Du Ruisseau can more particularly inform them.

She should think that they ought to give to the Duke of Lennox the principal charge in the army under M. de Guise.

---

* Father Henry De La Rue, who had been almoner to the Queen of Scots, and who at that time was on a mission to the Pope.

† *Videlicet*, England.

The said Du Ruisseau will explain to them what has been committed to him as to the escape of Her Majesty from this house, and of the design of the Earl and Countess* towards her, as also what he has seen of her ordinary treatment. It is necessary that M. de Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow should attend carefully to Don Bernardin de Mendoza at London, and that his Lordship of Glasgow should write to him oftener, to remove from him the suspicion which he has taken that they negotiate with his companion in France,† and that in so doing, the other would receive the honour and result of his labours, since he is in that kingdom.

Her Majesty entreats M. de Guise to take Mr. Morgan into his service for conducting henceforward the correspondence with this country, and other privy matters, in whom she assures him that he may place as entire confidence as in herself. He has already the ordinary appointment from Her Majesty.

The said Du Ruisseau will remember with all diligence to attend to the party at Rouen, to whom he will inform M. de Guise and his Lordship of Glasgow how much she is justly indebted; and if the treasurer makes any excuse or delay whatever, his said Lordship of Glasgow, according to what Her Majesty wrote to him by her letters, must take the money in bank to satisfy the said party, desiring that her said treasurer bind himself for its repayment.

To Patrick, Master of Gray.‡

[*Cotemporary Copy.§—From the Collection of the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield House,—Cecil Papers.*]

From Wingfield, the 1st October [1584].

Master Gray,—this unexpected change of my residence,

---

* Of Shrewsbury. † The Spanish ambassador there.

‡ A volume of "Letters and Papers" relating to this most execrable character was presented to the Bannatyne Club by the late Lord Gray, in 1835. It is unnecessary to comment on an individual so "damned to universal fame," and who occupies in profane, the place which Judas holds in sacred history.

§ This is a copy in the handwriting of Archibald Douglas. For

joined to the watch by my new keepers on most of my friends and correspondents, has been the cause why I did not receive your last of 2d and 3d June and 2d of July until the 9th of September; and at the same time having received by Negoli and otherwise certain information that you were on the eve of setting out to come hither, I have thought that my reply could not reach you in time in Scotland, and therefore I have resolved to direct it to you at London, where my said keepers have again assured me that you were expected on the 5th of this month at farthest.

In the meanwhile I have written to my son my opinion of the proposal which you have made to me, in his name, for your journey to the Queen of England, and have told him plainly that I can in nowise approve of such factitious demonstration of disagreement and fresh difference between him and me, as being prejudicial to us both for the following reasons: namely, that the Queen of England either would not believe it, and would consider it a deceit and a game got up expressly between me and my son, which would be enough to prevent your journey to me, instead of facilitating it; or, if she believed the said difference to be real, it would give to our enemies at her court the only advantage which they at present desire for dissuading her from proceeding farther in any treaty or agreement between us; for without any doubt they have up to the present time made her place and found her safety and that of her kingdom on our differences, for which you know they have laboured, and labour daily, by all means and inducements possible towards each other; and knowing that nothing has hitherto so much prevented her from attacking you, and assisting and supporting by open force our banished rebels, as the persuasion which she has of the concord between me and my son, foreseeing that consequently all the princes of Christendom our friends, and all

---

sometime Mary believed him devoted to her cause; but in a short while she began to suspect him (and with reason) of being sold to Walsingham. See the subsequent notes on pages 314 and 316; and, on page 319, the note addressed by Chérelles to Walsingham.

others depending on us both, as well in this kingdom as in Scotland and elsewhere, would be joined with us and would assist us, our said enemies now could not by a more prompt and plausible method divert and withdraw the Queen of England from all treaty and agreement with us than by giving her the assurance and confirmation by my own son of the difference between him and me'; inasmuch as thereby the queen of England, believing us both less powerful and capable of annoying her, would feel more confident, and losing the fear which she had of our concord, would make less account than ever of doing it either for him or for me; but on the contrary she would proceed with more confidence to our trouble, persecution, and ruin, according to the desire and advice of our said enemies, who seek for no other thing.

In short, believe for a certainty that it is only the fear and apprehension of a final agreement which can induce the Queen of England to do any thing for us, and that it will not make my son so contemptible in her eyes, as if under the food of her fine promises she can once disappoint and deprive him of the assistance and support of me and my friends and relatives, and of foreign princes, the appearance of whom, although hitherto without effect, may be of much service to us in extracting from her more advantageous conditions, if we know well how to use it; wherefore if my son (although that I do not think him so ill advised as to trust to her, having already had so much experience of the treacherous conduct of the Queen of England towards him) is persuaded, whether by the people of this Queen of England or otherwise, that if by showing himself at variance with me he will obtain from her better terms to himself, let him rest assured on the contrary that in persuading the Queen of England of this difference between him and me, it is the only thing by which she aims to give him, as they say, *the Cornish hug*,* and that afterwards she will give herself no concern to perform and observe anything whatever of what she has promised.

---

* "*Donner la croche en jambe*,"—to trip up his heels; ruin, or overthrow him.

As for the threats with which she thinks perchance to alarm him, I do not consider him so faint-hearted as that these can restrain him from showing publicly, as his own duty and honour oblige him, the agreement which in all things he has by me, and which he ought to have with me, for the Queen of England is at present more upon the defensive than the offensive, perceiving herself very uncertain of her own subjects, and beyond the pale of assistance of the Duke of Anjou and the Prince of Orange, who were her principal supporters, and in a bad and very doubtful position with the chief and greatest princes of Christendom, whom she is extremely afraid of pressing and inviting to run to the fire, if she should light it in Scotland.

I make no doubt that she will feed my son, as she has done myself, with the hope of the succession of this crown; but it is only an artifice, solely to keep us in leading strings after her, having from the beginning of her reign always held this principal maxim of her safety, in which she is more resolved than ever, never to declare while she lives any heir, or to suffer her subjects to turn their eyes from herself to those who are to reign after her.

To conclude this subject, I can see no good in your permitting, in any manner, the Queen of England to persuade herself that there is between my son and me any division, or that he wishes by a treaty entered upon to separate himself from me, or me from him; but on the contrary it is very important for us, not to discourage our friends and animate our enemies, that openly he may make apparent by you his duty and affection to me, and he cannot do otherwise without incurring the character of being extremely hypocritical,* dis-

* There is, in the British Museum, MSS. Cotton, Nero, B. VI. fol. 364, a copy, made by Chérelles, of a part of this letter. This copy begins at these words, "extremely hypocritical," and ends with these, "with the young Duke of Lennox." (page 316 subseq.) It differs from the present only in the two paragraphs printed in italics, and which have been substituted by M. de Mauvissière instead of these in the original cipher of Mary. These latter are given in the two following notes; the reader will easily comprehend the reasons which induced the Ambassador to make the alterations.

sembling, in a matter so little just and reasonable, even among those who shall believe the said difference to be real, without greatly prejudicing his honour over all Christendom and even among our own enemies, some of whom have already said to me that, if he is of good natural disposition, he cannot fail to demand explicitly by you, on whose arrival all things are depending, my complete deliverance and freedom, thereon to base and secure the progress of the said treaty. But the rumour is already prevalent among them, and has reached my ears, that your journey refers to two principal points: the one to reveal to the Queen of England an intrigue and design against her discovered by you during your residence in France, and for the rest, to make to her in name of my son several very advantageous good offices and offers of friendship, without in anywise mentioning or including me therein; of which some of them already boast and consider themselves certain.

I do not know if the Earl of Arran, to make his credit available here, and show that he can lead my son as he pleases, has not been the author of that advice, so as to make it appear to them that he has fulfilled the promise which he made to them of alienating him from me; but notwithstanding that, in his recent interview and negotiations with Lord Hunsdon, he has not succeeded better than before. Be that as it may, I entreat you, inasmuch as you value my everlasting pleasure, not to disunite me and my son in any points of your proceedings and negotiations with the Queen of England and those of her council; and if you have brought me letters from my son making no mention of any private understanding between him and me, send them openly to me by the ordinary post, and, in case that you have not brought any, do not fail to give me as openly, as by his express order and in his name, all evidence of his duty, undivided affection, and obedience to me.

As for the more important and secret matter which you have to communicate to me, if you do not come hither, *I shall request the French ambassador to show you the way how to write to me.** You can trust and employ him in what you have to nego-

* This sentence in the original is as follows: "Apply to Cour-

tiate here, not contravening directly the welfare of the king of France, but proceed with the said Negoli according to the knowledge or information which you have of his disposition; namely, with circumspection and without communicating the basis or secret of your negotiations, being a man more faithful and affectionate to me than of steady experience. You have also to *beware of Fowler, who was formerly in the service of the Countess of Lennox, my mother-in-law*,† inasmuch as he will not fail to accost you, to extract what he can from you. I shall defer till your return to Scotland to point out and name the places and persons hereabout, to direct those upon the border with whom you have established secret correspondence, for, in the meanwhile, it will serve you nothing to know them, and especially if I am removed from this house and the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, as I see matters much disposed thereto. In which event I must search for and appoint entirely new communications and means.

I thank you heartily for having caused to be rewarded by my son the gentleman upon the border, and the two others who were at your father's thinking to go to France, and can only thank you for the courtesies and attentions which they received from you and yours on my account. I have written to my son in favour of all those whom you have recommended to me by your last, also for Cavalion, but do not be in a haste to promote him so soon in my son's service, especially to the office of secretary for managing his secret affairs; I should rather wish my son to give him some pension and some reasonable means for remaining with the young Duke of Lennox‡ his master. For I am very willing to retain him in his service,

---

celles, M. de Mauvissière's secretary, who will show you how to read my cipher; you can trust to the said Courcelles sending me your letters."

† The original sentence is: "Carefully beware of Archibald Douglas, who is too much devoted to Mr. Walsingham, and of this Fowler, the servant of the Earl of Leycester," &c.

‡ Here ends the copy of the fragment of the letter communicated by Chérelles to Walsingham; see, at the end of this, page 319, his letter enclosing it.

but not to entrust more to him until we have had some better experience of him and the suspicions cleared up which were formerly had of his familiarity with the English ambassador resident in France.

I much approve of your extracting from my Lord Claude Hamilton everything that can be of use to you here; and especially, if you think you will not greatly displease my son by speaking to him in favour of the said lord, try indirectly by degrees to obtain for him some more mild and favourable treatment; but take good care not to mention my name in the recommendation, unless you see that my son is willing to take it in good part, as otherwise it might injure me, without profiting the other.

I am very much offended by the bad management in France of the money which I had obtained there for my son; to whom do not fail to testify that the six thousand crowns which he has received, come from Spain, and that there have been ten thousand ordered to be sent to him, besides the twelve thousand, for the maintenance of his guard; being unable to comprehend how it happens that Glasgow has not paid it, as I had ordered him. But of that, as of other things relating to his charge, I can get no account from him, it being more than six months since I have received a single word in cipher from him; and yet I understand from other quarters that, under the name of my cousin the Duke of Guise, and some private members of the league, he arbitrarily disposes of every thing there with a high hand, without giving himself much concern whether I shall be pleased with it or not. I regret that an old servant like him, and of his rank, should suffer himself to act thus, there not being at this day a single one of all my most faithful and affectionate servants and dependants, whether Scotch or English, who has not made incredible complaints of him to me, both specially and generally, not only of the delay and procrastination which they see occur in my affairs from that cause, but also of the particular discourtesies and injuries which they say they have received from him, each being of this opinion, that no one can be in good estima-

tion and favour with the said Glasgow who appears to depend on me, and to be more devoted to my service than to his passions, and that no recommendation or command from me, however express, can in anything avail with him, but to the contrary; so that there are many who on his account have requested from me their dismissal, and permission to interfere no more in my affairs, seeing how little, without making themselves altogether factious and denounced by the said Glasgow, they can profit my service and themselves; which at length constrains me to grant the urgent request, which he has so often and importunately made to me for some years, of removing him from his charge as ambassador. Of which you will inform my son, and of the causes which have led me thereto, desiring that whoever shall succeed the said Glasgow, shall hold commission from us both, as associates, and, in our mutual name, be presented to the King of France. It will be of great importance to my son and Scotland, to have certain intelligence and correspondence in France; and it will cost him nothing, inasmuch as I shall defray the maintenance of the said ambassador.

I highly applaud the resolution, which you write to me you have taken, of following rigidly and directly, without respect to others, the orders and wishes of me and my son; which is the only way to merit and confirm to you, and increase more and more the credit of your fidelity, which hitherto you have acquired with us both.

With this you will receive some articles* in shape of instructions, to add to those of my son; for the rest, and especially of your offer for my liberation, I defer to consider it at leisure with you, when here, if you are permitted to come: for which, without other colour or pretence, you must make the request solely to visit me by order of my son, to know the true state of my condition and health, or to report to him my views concerning the treaty.

You will also find enclosed within, a note for the brother of my secretary, named Fontenay, who is at present with my

* See the subsequent document, page 320.

son; requesting you, above all things, to have him recommended for love of me, during the short stay which he is to make in Scotland, as a person of trust and merit, and to whom, for the services of his brother and himself, I feel myself very much obliged. And so I pray to God that He may have you, Master Gray, in His holy keeping.

From Wingfield, this 1st October.

Your faithfully good mistress and friend,

MARIE.

Postscript.—I have delayed sending the enclosed until now, expecting daily some fresh certification of your coming to this country; which I think very strange has been so long deferred, the Queen of England, as you gave me to understand, having granted you your passport immediately on your applying for it. And she and her council take occasion, by your delay, to procrastinate also their negotiation for the treaty, and say that they wish to hear you before going farther.

At the end of a fragment of this letter, copied by Chérelles, and preserved in the British Museum, is found the following letter, written by him to Walsingham:

Sir,—This is a half-sheet of the letter which the Queen of Scotland has written in cipher to Mr. Gray, and in one place, as you will see, where the said queen writes to him to beware of Mr. Douglas, because he is, as she says, too much devoted to you, which Monsieur the Ambassador was not willing he should see, nevertheless, he has not permitted him to perceive it, although my said Lord Ambassador had effaced and corrected all that, and had made me rewrite it otherwise. Now, from what I have heard, the said Mr. Gray, having no one whom he thought he could trust to decipher the said letter, has given it to Mr. Douglas, who brought it to me to decipher, and I have kept it four or five days. If it had not been that he so pressed me, and that he came daily to take what I had written, I should have been very glad to make you a copy; but I do not doubt that the said Douglas has shewn you the whole, or fully informed you of the substance

of the said letter. The bearer* and I encountered each other in a certain place, where he asked me if I had no news; and, seeing the length of time since I had any means of doing you service, I spoke to him of this letter, and that there only remained to me this half-sheet, which he begged me very earnestly to send to you, which I was unwilling to do, inasmuch as I thought it would be of no service to you. As for Monsieur the Ambassador, he has received nothing from this quarter for a long time. Consider in what I can serve you, assuring yourself that I shall employ myself therein as heartily as I pray God, sir, that He may give you, in perfect health, a happy and long life, with the accomplishment of all your wishes.

INSTRUCTIONS SENT BY QUEEN MARY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

Cotemporary Decipher.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xiv.

Without date [October, 1584.]

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. GRAY, IN ADDITION TO THOSE WHICH HE HAS FROM MY SON.

You will declare to the queen that, as by all law, divine and human, my son acknowledges himself to be indebted to me, not only for his birth, but also for all which he has, and expects through me in this world, he is very desirous to signify to her, as he has recently done by my Lord Seton to the King of France, the close accord which in all things he is resolved to have and keep with me. And, therefore, that, during all these last years, especially since he has enjoyed his liberty, the authority and government of Scotland, having been in expectation of some treaty and agreement between the queen, me, and him, he had always sought to urge matters forward, until it should succeed from the proceedings and negotiations of the queen, both with me and with him, in that respect. Now that he understands matters

---

* Thomas Phelipps.

to be upon the eve of a termination and resolution to that effect here, he is unwilling to wait longer to request very earnestly the queen for my complete liberation and freedom, either to be given up to him, as he desires, or to remain in this kingdom, as had been agreed on in the conference with Sir Walter Mildmay.

Whereupon you can demonstrate to the queen, that, having always taken notice both of the intrigues and evil intentions of the kings and foreign princes, who would never have so securely [kept] me as she has done, if I had fallen into their hands, she cannot misinterpret any of the aforesaid reasons, since my child and the foreign princes with him re-demand me, especially the King of France, who has written to the queen at different times, and has caused it to be constantly urged by his ambassador for two years; that inasmuch as this detention, or rather imprisonment, cannot be founded on any law of nations, as if taken in just warfare, or otherwise by any authority to which she can pretend over me or the Kings of Scotland, it will be to her more safe and honourable to deserve by a favourable liberty [the gratitude of] her captive, and willingly by the same means to oblige my son to her, than to seek to secure herself by severity and bad treatment towards me, and by supporting and assisting rebels against him.

You will require the queen to proceed and go through with the treaty commenced with her for my said liberation and freedom, offering for the performance and consideration of it, on the part of my son, all perfect friendship and mutual good understanding in future with the said queen, and between these two kingdoms; as more particularly will be proposed and designed for the peace and security, and common good of all this island, by those who on either side shall be commissioned, you being unable to enter upon any more equitable offer, as matters have gone hitherto with me touching the said treaty and my intention . . . . and to this effect you shall insist, as soon as you can, that you shall be permitted to come here, and, particularly, that after having remained here, I may dispatch with you on your return one

of my people to my son; such intercourse being so very praiseworthy between a mother and a child, when its object is but to ascertain the real state of our health and condition after being long separated, that no one, having any feelings of humanity, would wish to forbid or prevent it, much less this queen, to whom we have the honour of being so nearly related; yet, in giving us this liberty, to provide sufficiently for the vain suspicions and mistrusts which our enemies might cause her to imagine, by appointing some of her people to accompany you hither, if she cannot implicitly rely on those who are already here to watch me.

In the meanwhile, upon the information which you say my son has written, that they wish me to send the state of my affairs here, as it now is, by the appointment of Sir Ralph Sadler in the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, you will make an urgent request, in name of my son, that, during the short time that the said treaty can last and come to a complete rupture or agreement, I shall not be removed from the custody of the said earl: this change being unnecessary if the queen has any intention to fulfil the said treaty, and impracticable without much inconvenience on either side. Farther, that in consideration of the scandalous reports which are current as between me and the said earl, I cannot be removed from him without having my name handed about amongst the more malicious, who will certainly make use of it, and the less informed, who will fancy that some evil and improper conversation has taken place between us, and for which we have been separated; so that, at the utmost, they cannot deny me, that, before being removed from the custody of the said earl, I shall be [completely] cleared and sufficiently exonerated from the said reports, as I have constantly and very importunately required this whole year, and this day week by an express dispatch to the said queen by the French ambassador, naming the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons, Charles and William Cavendish, as the inventors and disseminaters of this report; upon whom you will demand justice in the name of my son, in unison with the said ambassador, pretending that the said countess and her chil-

dren have not been declared and named by us, and that my son generally has given you most express instructions to insist for justice against all who shall be found guilty of it.

At all events, if it shall be resolved to remove me from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, endeavour at least that they make choice of a man capable in two points to succeed him;—the first, that it may be none of those who pretend to this crown against me and my son, or any other soever . . . .

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Draught.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xiv.]

From Wingfield, the 8th December [1584.]

Madam,—Having the heart worthy of one who has the honour of being descended from blood so royal as yours, and sincerely resolved to give you every proof of an obedient and affectionate relative which you can require, it gives me much pain to find myself thwarted in so good an intention. For, although that it is hard for me in many respects to be deprived of my liberty among all other princes my kinsfolk, allies, or confederates, I have at length considered that having some interest in me to depend on you, and to have been formerly obliged to you for the friendship which you were pleased to remind Nau you bore to me, I should bear it patiently, and, in the hope of your good disposition, submitting to you, as they say in our country, *as to the chief of our house;* but seeing that, after having placed myself absolutely in your hands, if you were pleased to receive me, I am treated with such severity by you, or him who occupies my place (to my great regret, being unable to get possession of it myself), and who has no right to it but from you alone, or by your command, I neither can nor dare tell you what I think of it.

Excuse me, then, madam, if, finding myself in such a labyrinth, I presume beyond my duty to enclose a letter to the person to whom I have given all credit, under your cover; which having done naturally and upon the first impulse, I have considered it well and shown it to myself to be

an act too familiar, and which might be attributed to presumption; but, at the end of three days, during which I was kept in the hope that I would hear of him, seeing that whoever came or went there was nothing for me, I think that, having submitted myself to you alone, you alone will pardon my enforced fault, having no other means either of troubling you with too long a letter, or, with your permission, of forwarding the other to Nau, and that so much the more boldly that he has nothing to do there except with yourself.

For God's sake, madam, know the truth, and inform me of your pleasure by him to whom I have given authority, without his using ciphers in it at the pleasure of others; and believe that, commanding me as your own, you will be more sincerely obeyed by me than by those who endeavour to prevent me being heard by you. I fear the vindictiveness of some, I know not whom; but I protest to you, on the faith of a Christian, that I have none against any of yours; but I wish to love all those who are faithful and agreeable to you, without resentment, so far as it will please you. In short, I entreat you, remove me from the distress in which I am, and command, if there is any fault, that it may be amended. Would to God that I had two hours' conversation with you! it would, perhaps, be of as much advantage to you as to me. I entreat you that no one may by my complaint be induced to do worse to me; but make use of it so as to serve yourself by me, and others by my example. May God give you, madam my good sister, as many happy years as I have had of sorrows these last twenty years!

Wingfield, this 8th December, the forty-second of my age, and eighteenth of my imprisonment.

To Lord Burleigh.

[*Autograph.—State Paper Office, London; Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xv.]

From Tutbury, the 20th January [1585.]

Mr. High Treasurer,—Being arrived here by orders of the queen, my good sister, and in full confidence of the care

which she has been pleased to promise me she will have, both for my safety and the honourable and courteous maintenance of me and all that belongs to me, of which until now I have had nothing but room to hope, I have wished much, without so often importuning the queen, my good sister, to whom I wait to reply to the articles proposed by me and annotated by her, until I have a little more leisure and consideration on the reply to the letters which I have sent to her for my son, concerning which I beg you to inquire, and how they have pleased her, and how they have been sent, and by whom; for, having nobody there to solicit for me, I fear that I shall have no news of them except at a distant period, and consequently all my requests, and especially those for the treaty, will be suspended. I am, however, bound in duty, in all that I can, also to write to France, and desire in all other points to satisfy the said sovereign lady, my good sister. I entreat, also, that, on the other side, they will proceed sincerely and with the promptitude which my condition, secure on no side, requires. I am desirous of doing well; for God's sake let it be well received, and not employed to my detriment! I have also offered to join an association for the safety of the Queen of England, my good sister, in which I desire to be received, as I protest, before God and upon my honour, that I am as sincerely affectionate as any relative or subject which she has. I entreat her to let me know her acceptance of this my principal proof of fidelity and love towards her, and that I am no longer suspected of being comprised in the number of her enemies, nor one who would wish to attempt, support, or favour an act so wicked as an attempt against her person or her kingdom: on the contrary, I offer myself, and have long done so; but till now, that I have had permission to send to her, I have never found one who dared or would utter a word in my name.

I send you also a memorandum of my ordinary wants, which I have communicated to the chancellor and Somers; which I think they will not deem too unreasonable, considering my rank. I beg you will urge the settlement of them, and especially of the journey which I have demanded that

one of my people shall take to Scotland to my son. I swear by my faith that I do not wish to treat except to make him in his duty unite himself inseparably with me to the queen, my good sister, and under her protection. And, in this resolution, I shall pray God to give you, Mr. High Treasurer, a long and happy life.

Tutbury, 20th January.

Your faithfully best friend,

MARIE R.

P.S.—Mr. High Treasurer,—I pray you that the queen, my good sister, may treat me as her own, and that she may excuse my importunity for the necessaries which I require; being the least to which I can willingly reduce and bring myself, having regard to the state of my health, which has made me feel, as I had always apprehended, this house in this season very inconvenient, being only built of plaster and wood badly joined, and furnished so ill that those who have charge of me here are forced to confess that they themselves have been ill-used; so that, in lodging and furniture, I find myself even worse off than I have ever previously been. But they give me hope of having it remedied; which, I know well, a special recommendation will greatly promote. And, were it not that it has pleased the queen, my good sister, to take me into her own hands, I should not require it from others; these are petty matters, in consideration of what I hope to deserve from her.

Especially I recommend my stable to you,* without which I am more than ever a prisoner. Consider yourself what exercise can they take who have worse legs than you,† brought to that state from want of exercise? so that, if I am deprived of it, life will not long remain to me.

Addressed:—To Monsieur de Bourlay, High Treasurer of England.

---

* The horses which formed Mary's stable were detained at Sheffield, and she had not ceased to make remonstrances that they might be restored to her, as it was impossible for her to take any exercise.

† Lord Burleigh suffered much from gout.

To Queen Elizabeth.

[*Autograph.—British Museum, London; MSS. Cotton. Caligula*, c. viii. fol. 107.]

From Tutbury, the 29th September [1585.]

Madam my good sister,—In thanking you, as I do humbly, for the consideration which you have pleased to have for preserving my life and health by the change from this miserable dwelling, which I entreat you to order to be effected with all convenient expedition, I fear that you will consider me importunate, if, persisting in my other demands, so reasonable and necessary, of which I now make to you more urgent request than ever, I complain likewise of an innovation which my keeper has for some days notified to me in a manner sufficiently despotic,—the stoppage of my former and ordinary correspondence with the French ambassador. Of which, to tell you frankly, I can make no other interpretation except that my enemies, having confined me here for ever, wish to deprive the other sovereigns and princes of Christendom of information of my condition and treatment here, in order the more easily afterwards to disguise from them whatever may happen to me therein. For of matter concerning in any manner your safety, I do not see in it foundation or appearance whatever, all that I write passing through the hands of your servants, to be by them thoroughly perused, and examined, and retained, apprising me of the fault therein, if they find anything offensive or prejudicial to your dignity. I pray you then very earnestly that this intercourse, so open and plain, may remain to me, being resolved never to swerve from the close alliance which I have with the most Christian king my brother-in-law, by yourself accepted as a common friend, for a mediator between us. And, if I were not obliged to it, the small assurance which hitherto has been given to me, would be, moreover, a sufficient reason for my seeking anew his protection, especially if my son is misled and alienated from me, as I have understood from you. I shall never refuse to address myself directly and expressly to you in all which may concern me henceforward; but, if you consider that, amidst my almost constant indisposition, I

shall not be always able to write you with my own hand, and that you yourself will not always give yourself leisure to read my letters, so long and customarily tedious, according to the subject that is daily provided to me for them, I am sure that you will dispense in it with the one and me with the other. As for your councillors, you may remember that formerly you were offended because I addressed myself to them; therefore, you will not approve of their replying to me specially, as is required in all which I am to write to you from time to time, inasmuch that, for the ease of all, and to avoid greater suspicion, the intervention of the French ambassador appears to me not less proper than necessary. I regret that my letters convey to you only continual complaints and grievances; but still more the so pregnant cause which I have, to which I beseech my God to send a termination in some shape or other, if it does not please yourself to grant it, using me at least according to my desert (in the event of my proposals, beyond all reason, not being accepted) as . . . .

Tutbury, this 29th September.

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

Marie R.

To Monsieur de Chateauneuf.

[*Cotemporary Copy.—State Paper Office, London; Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. xvi.]

From Tutbury, the 8th December, 1585.

Mr. Ambassador,—some days ago my keeper imparted to me (having, as he showed to me, orders so to do) the imprisonment of my son in the hands of the Scots banished by him, and who had fled to the Queen of England; being (according to what he said) returned to Scotland with an army of seven thousand men, and, after having surprised the town of Stirling, and compelled my son to surrender and deliver to them the castle of the said town in which he was, pursuing now to the utmost extremity the chief persons who were about him, especially the Earl of Arran, formerly so much favoured and supported on this side against myself. These news have indeed pro-

duced the effect for which they have been reported to me with such great expedition, namely, to add to me affliction upon affliction, both in mind and body, without any pity for the extent of the disease to which the severities of this imprisonment have at length reduced me. But that which grieves me most is to see myself entirely prevented from bringing any remedy to this misfortune, being held bound hand and foot, and nothing as it were left to me but the voice, yet very feeble, to lament to my God, a treatment so cruel and inhuman; in short, deprived of all other news of Christendom, from which I might receive the least consolation in the world.

I recognise in this occurrence a just judgment of God upon my child, chastising him to bring him back, as I hope, to repentance for having failed in his duty, faith, and promises to his true and natural and very affectionate mother, allowing himself to separate from her to entrust himself, destitute of all protection, to the ambushes and perfidy of his enemies, so often tried against himself and all his family. At least he cannot but remember now, that having heretofore preferred to retain the crown of Scotland by the force, violence, and rebellion of subjects alone, than to accept my free consent to secure him and make him the lawful possessor of it, (which has been invariably my main scope and intention), he has left to our said subjects the door open, as I have often predicted to him, to use him, when they incline, in the same manner as I have been, and yet with greater appearance of justice. For if a son is entitled to dispossess his mother, a lawful queen, and without any exception, what cannot our said subjects dare against a child rebellious, ungrateful, and tyrannical, such as in their consciences I am sure that they hold him to be, although in his infancy some have lent him the name of king, to possess themselves in effect of the entire authority by means of it? But, notwithstanding all which in that or otherwise he may have failed towards me (which I attribute rather to the evil advice and sinister designs on this side sufficiently revealed, than to his own proper motion and natural inclination), I cannot but, as a very affectionate mother, which I have ever been to him, and ever will be until

death, feel at the bottom of my heart his present misery, and make every effort in my power, were it at the risk of my own life, to warrant his from the imminent danger in which I perceive it to be. For, in a word, it is now only his death or perpetual imprisonment which can assure our wicked subjects of impunity for their offences against himself, they having so often relapsed into them, and he having shown such a resentment of it, as soon as last year he was out of their hands, that with difficulty will they now give up to him any full liberty either of his person, or of the government and regal authority.

I pray you then, Mr. Ambassador, by reason of a rheumatic attack with which I am seized in the whole right arm, which does not permit me to write to the Queen of England, to demonstrate to her thereon on my part two things especially. The one (which she can remember well enough, having been formerly fully written to her by my son himself) that the late Earl of Gowry, being last year on the point of having his head cut off for the same conspiracy which these Scotch lords have at present executed, deposed and confessed voluntarily to the Master of Gray, who informed me of it by letters still extant, that in England (I do not wish to mention by whom) it had been settled, projected, and determined to put me and my son to death on the same day. And that thereupon she will consider what just reason I have to doubt of the life of my son, seeing him kept prisoner by the same persons with whom it was said such conspiracy had been arranged, who had fled to her, and, I might venture to say, were supported and maintained by her very ministers, perchance, in this last enterprise, so that she ought, it appears to me, to have very much regard not to suffer her honour to be pledged to it, or to consent to so wicked an act (which with difficulty I shall persuade myself that she ever would wish to do) but at the very least to have seen to it as she can and ought, taking upon her publicly the name of mother of my son, and taking from me entirely, in all and by all, every means of rendering him in it good offices and deeds. The other point is that, for the benefit and safety of herself, I entreat her to weigh well the proceed-

ings of some of her principal ministers and subjects of this faction, to discover, further than she has yet made a show of knowing, the grounds of their design against me and my son, to wit, in taking the lives of us both, who are the sole remaining descendants in Scotland of the late king of England, Henry VII, to shorten their way to the usurpation of this crown, and to this effect place at their service in the said kingdom of Scotland a king who can in nothing pretend to the succession of this, but rather, by some secret league and confederacy, be beforehand obliged to assist our said enemies here to arrive at the said usurpation; the success of which design cannot doubtless succeed in regard of the said queen, without great diminution of her safety during her reign. For, suffering our rivals and enemies so to oppress us and remove us from between her and them, doubtless she will make them more powerful against herself, and more at liberty to make her do as shall seem good to them, as at different times she has seen herself endangered by them, I and my son not having heretofore injured her, at least by way of compensation, in restraining our said rivals in their duties towards her. Moreover, it can only be to her a dishonour and great weight of conscience, to suffer thus her own blood to be ruined, and this kingdom to be defrauded of its true and lawful inheritors, it being her right, and having it in her power, to remedy it.

If she were immortal to enjoy for ever this crown, or had to secure her own children in it, even then among politicians such an act might be received. But provided that she secures her kingdom for herself, so long as it shall please God to give her life, I cannot comprehend for what others after her she wishes to load her conscience so far as to permit us to be deprived both of life and of right, not having others among our rivals, I may say any, who have more means, power, and sincere good will to serve her than me and my son, if it should please her to accept us. For to plead (as she might do) that we are the first and most to be feared by her, is not a sufficient reason, when all regard for God, faith, and honour has ceased, to get rid of us in this manner, having there so many solid and good means to assure herself in it, as she had been

able to do times without number, by accepting the very advantageous offers which had been made to her, to keep faith and duty therein, and not by the imprisonment of our persons, and such other extraordinary ways by which they have proceeded against us till this present time.

The said queen ought to consider the little faith and durable safety which she has hitherto found with those particular subjects of Scotland, who happening from time to time to drop off from her (as the justice of God has not permitted any of them long to continue), she has always been constrained to have recourse to new remedies to serve present occasions, without ever remaining sure of the future. Also it has never been the design of those who have counselled her to proceed by such means towards attaining her safety, but solely, without considering what might in it mishappen to her, to ruin by herself her kinsfolk, and the nearest of those the first; which is the real and main cause that hitherto no treaty and agreement could succeed between her and us, however great offers, conditions, and overtures we have at different times proposed to her to that effect, especially last winter, when I dispatched my secretary to her with almost a *carte-blanche,* insomuch that she herself and those of her council were forced to avow and confess that they could desire nothing more or add to the terms to which I had voluntarily submitted in order to put more than the right on my side, taking upon me to induce my son in like manner to do the same, as truly I should have done, if it had been permitted to me to send to him as I very urgently required; the refusal which was made to me of this having too plainly shown the small inclination which some had to this agreement. For if they had been disposed to it in earnest, seeing that the said queen had written to me that it only applied to my son, she was bound, if not to aid me, at least to give me leave to labour with my said son to remove all the difficulties which were advanced in it, on her part; and, if I had not been successful therein, then I should have been deprived of all ground for imputing the fault of it to others. But I am of opinion that they knew too well that such difficulties were merely forged by the factiousness of the Earl of Arran, who

now receives for it the reward of those very persons whom he has so well served against me. And I firmly believe that it would have been more honourable, better, and safer for the said queen, and as well for the said Earl of Arran and his adherents, as for these lords newly returned to Scotland, to have secured themselves all by a firm union between me and my son, and the conclusion of the peace which I sought from the said queen, being thereby both held in consideration, than to have proceeded, as has been done, by force and violence. It is not that I wish to disapprove of the restoration of the peers who were banished here, not being for my own part able to plead any offence against them (as the said queen and those of her council may remember well enough that by my said secretary I offered to intercede and labour in Scotland for their said restoration, even to take it as it were upon myself), but I had much rather desired that it had been procured by gentle means and with the general reconciliation which I proposed between the nobility, to establish in the said kingdom a secure rest and tranquillity for the future, than with such violence and by the support of our enemies in this kingdom; who, under such innovations, tend but to exterminate my son and all our race. And that it might not be so is sufficiently apparent in that, if the restoration only of the said Scottish lords had been simply intended, the said queen of England might have quietly effected it for them by the great credit and the thorough good understanding which she manifested to me by all her letters to have with my son, and ought not, in reward for his being so completely united to her, to send back to him the said banished people armed to the teeth. Which was not (I am sure) one of the public articles of the treaty made between her and him last winter, when Gray was in this country. And less ought such a thing to have been expected among the great demonstrations of friendship which the said queen had made to him all this time here, of which, so far from my having conceived any jealousy, now that I have been excepted from the said treaty after having been the first to devise and begin to act upon it, I have, on the contrary, done the utmost in my power to maintain the said queen

in this good course with my son, accounting myself very well pleased if he should receive any fruit, benefit, and advantage from it, so much have his preservation, greatness, and prosperity ever been to me more dear than any thing relating to my own private matters.

You see at last to what have come the negotiations and dealings of this young man, Gray, and of such other ministers of my son; being himself unable to hope for any thing better in future, if once for all and substantially the said queen is not pleased, according to the overtures which I have formerly made to her in it, to mediate with the king your master, my brother-in-law, to establish a more certain and sure government in Scotland, destroying there all seeds of differences and bygone partialities. Otherwise it will always be to begin again, as the sudden whirls and unforeseen changes which have come to pass in that country, almost every month, these last three or four years, have given to us sufficient proofs of it. Therefore to look betimes, both to the present danger of my son's life, and to the other things which shall be found necessary in future for his safety, and the peace and quiet of his subjects, I beseech you to urge in my name to the said queen, as vigorously as you can, upon the aforesaid remonstrances, that she may be pleased to approve that with you (in case that the king, my said lord and brother, according to the request which I am resolved to make to him of it, gives you the commission, and that you wish to accept it), and with another ambassador on her own part, I may send some of my people to my son, to communicate to him and the Parliament of the country, which for this purpose they may cause to assemble, as it is daily done for less occasions, our common advice and counsel touching the restoration of matters in that quarter. In which the king, my said lord and brother, may justly advance as much title to interfere as any other prince, being thereto obliged by the alliance so ancient between France and Scotland, and having to it, as I believe, reserved the same right by his new league with the said queen of England. And I do not think that he can in such a journey more conveniently and expeditiously, as there is need, employ

any other than you, who are already on the road to me and to the said queen of England, to arrange with her, beforehand, the manner in which they shall proceed therein. If this overture is not agreeable to her, you will propose, if you please, that she will permit me to send to France some of my people, properly instructed by myself to go, without any prejudice to her, to seek for other means of assisting my son, trusting in God not to fail therein. It will cost her nothing in that but a passport. And I do not consider her good natural disposition yet so dead to her own blood, that being herself unable to assist him, she would wish to prevent the mother from relieving her child in so urgent a need; which would be sufficient to confirm many in their opinion that this party against my son would not be hazarded without her approval or warrandice, or at least of some of her principal and most trusty ministers.

If they propose to you that I should treat of this matter by correspondence, refuse it altogether,; as thereby my letters would pass through the hands of those who have by chance planned this enterprise, which would be always to make them more capable of bringing it to an end. And I should like as well to send my packets direct to the said Scotch, who at present detain my son, inasmuch as formerly some have been sent to them from this quarter, with full and particular advice how they ought to proceed against our designs. Moreover my despatches, like those on the matter of my jointure, are so ill handled, and I have received from them replies so little satisfactory, that I will never undertake to treat of any affair of state or importance by the same means. I make no doubt that they will pretend to you that my son is in complete liberty and self-control. For the same they were anxious to affirm to me, and the said queen wrote to me, about three years ago, when my said son was made a prisoner in the house of the Earl of Gowry, and as such detained nearly a year by the said Earl and some of the nobles recently returned, with so strict a guard, vigilance, and constraint on all his words and actions, both public and private, that Monsieur de La Mothe Fénélon, a wise and very prudent gentleman, on his return

from the journey which he made in that quarter, wrote to me plainly in these very words: "that he had found there the king a close prisoner, the crown on the earth, and the sceptre under the feet of his subjects." The English ambassador, who was then there, exercising nevertheless such authority, that he took the liberty of attending the audiences of the said Monsieur de La Mothe, listening to every word which my son and he said.

It is only four months since the said queen of England, wishing to excuse herself for being unable longer to admit the king your master, my brother-in-law, as caution and surety in the treaty between her and me, wrote to me with her own hand, that he was not at liberty, owing to the return to him of some of the league: who, nevertheless, from what I have since heard, had come to him disarmed, and with all the submission, duty, and obedience which he could expect from very faithful and very loving subjects, such as I believe and I shall maintain were never those of whom she intended to speak. How then shall my son, surprised, besieged, and constrained by open force to surrender to the banished parties previously proclaimed by him as enemies, traitors, and rebels, be esteemed free? But their subsequent proceedings would be enough to let all Christendom be aware of his captivity, although by chance covered with the appearance of a specious liberty. And therefore I now protest to the said queen, that I will never admit or hold as the proper acts of my son, any thing which under his name may be done or passed, so long as he shall be detained in such a state. And if they shall object to me that the Earl of Arran held him in a worse imprisonment and closer captivity, the said queen must in like manner acknowledge as null all which in the time of the government of the said earl has been done and negotiated against me; to which I consider it certain that the poor child has never lent but his name. And the said earl, for having in that abused the name and authority of his said master against his own mother and queen, ought rather to be called to account, than for not having maintained and preserved the life and authority of his said master, against the Earl of Gowry and his accomplices.

As for my own private condition here, besides the endless inconveniences of which I am daily sensible, causing me thereby to pine away in sorrow, I cannot but recall to mind, on this misfortune of my son, the designs and various attempts which have been made upon my life, since I have been in this country; sometimes by violence; sometimes by poison, as I have formerly made some of them known to the said queen, with the names and surnames of the managers and instruments; sometimes by the subornation of individuals instigated to demand my life in full parliament; and lastly by an open association, or rather conspiracy of my enemies, made public last winter, under pretext of being for the preservation of the said queen; being strictly and in effect a ban and proclamation for indirectly finding murderers and inviting them to such a deed, assuring them, beforehand, not only of their pardon, but also of being ever maintained by the said conspirators. Such sinister proceedings, from which it has pleased God to preserve me till now, and the little safety which I see in my present state, even if the said queen of England were to die, give me, I think, very sufficient cause for requiring from her, more earnestly and importunately than ever, my complete deliverance from so long, rigorous, and miserable a captivity, not so much for the mere sake of the preservation of my life (which, saving the will of my God, I have very little cause and occasion to desire to prolong), as to pass the little which remains to me in liberty of my conscience, and more rest and quiet of mind than I have been able hitherto to manage and acquire by incredible patience, very sincere duty and endeavours, in which I am driven at the last to humour the said queen, and for once assure myself of her friendship by my deserts. I beg you then to make her this request for my liberation, assisting it with all the favourable recommendation which you can in the name of the king, my brother-in-law, to whom, as I have always hitherto deferred the principal mediation of every treaty and agreement between the said queen of England and me, so I will still accept in this all such conditions as he and the queen, my mother-in-law,

shall judge, with my honour and safety, to be reasonable, being very content to leave my cause in their hands.

On the side of Scotland, no difficulty can at present come in the way of this treaty; matters there being in such a position that I do not think that the said queen of England would be there opposed in any of her designs, so that it will not now be the fault of any but herself, if by the means aforesaid she does not establish matters there more firmly and durably to her satisfaction, and secure herself entirely in her own country, for the common good, peace, and prosperity of all this island, both during her reign and after it.

Excuse, if you please, the importunity and length of this letter, having deemed it necessary to assist the little information which you have of my affairs by such ample intelligence. I was also about to send to you a concise memorial of my last more important negotiations with the said queen, but I have deferred it until by her reply I shall learn whether it shall be expedient for you to proceed farther. And in the meanwhile I pray to God that he may have you, Mr. Ambassador, in his high and holy keeping.

From Tutbury, this 8th December, 1585.

To Monsieur de Chateauneuf.

[*Cotemporary Copy.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. xvii.]

From Chartley, the 31st January [1586].

Mr. Ambassador,—fearing that the despatch in cipher, which I lately sent to you by another conveyance, has not been delivered to you, I send you a duplicate, being unwilling to write in it any thing of importance until I am certain that you have received the alphabet here enclosed to serve hereafter between us, for this has passed through too many hands to be relied on.

I should desire exceedingly to know the cause of the Baron d'Esnaval's journey to Scotland, and your opinion how I shall proceed with him to answer to his charge and commis-

sion, if it is permitted to me to send some one of my people to my son, as I have lately demanded.

Send to me, by the bearer of this, all packets which you and Chérelles have in your possession for me, enclosing them in a small box or bag of strong leather.

Chartley, the last of January.

Copy of the despatch previously sent to M. de Chateauneuf.

Mr. Ambassador,—According to the memorial which I received by Mowbray, I send you a new alphabet of cipher to serve in future between you and me, according as matters may present themselves therein, and to this effect I shall labour, as far as I can, to recover and establish with you some safe means for the conveyance of the secret packets; which I have been unable to do until now, owing to the strict and very rigorous vigilance of this gentleman* in all which relates to his charge.

Permit me to advise you to watch carefully in your house the spies who may be there sent to you, especially under colour of the Catholic religion, in which your predecessor has been very much abused. And likewise be on the watch that some of your people are proof against bribery. At least I entreat you not to confide in any one whatever, except Chérelles and Cordaillot, what may pass hereafter between you and me by such secret conveyance, inasmuch as it affects the life of the English who are employed in it.

The plan of writing in alum is very common, and may easily be suspected and discovered, and therefore do not make use of it except in a case of necessity; and if you should use it, write not only in memorials by the carriers, but also between the lines of such new books as Chérelles or Cordaillot may have occasion to send to Nau, writing always on the fourth, eighth, twelfth, and sixteenth leaf, and so continuing from four to four, without which it will be necessary to put some mark to show where it has been written upon. And cause green ribbons to be attached to all the books, which you

---

* Sir Amyas Pawlet.

have caused to be written on in this manner. In like manner you may write upon white taffeta, lawn,* or suchlike delicate cloth; and, to denote when there shall be any thing written, send half a yard more, so that whenever there shall be in it a yard and a half, or two yards and a half, or three yards and a half, this word a half may inform me that within there is something secretly written. As for the packets which you already have, or may afterwards receive in cipher, you can send them to me closed, in place of cork, in high slippers, this being a species of merchandize with which every one has ordinarily to do here. Or rather unfold the letters and spread them out between the wood of the trunks and boxes which you shall send. I dare not entrust any information of importance to this very old cipher, and which has been used by many people. Finally, to show if there is any paper in the slippers, put the marks of the points of the said slippers upon the sole over the heel, and, as for the boxes and trunks, let them have a padlock attached to the fold of the lock. And so I pray God, Mr. Ambassador, that he may have you in his high and holy keeping.

To Monsieur de Chateauneuf.

[*Original Decipher.—State Paper Office at London; Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xvii.]

From Chartley, the 24th March, 1586.

Sir,—Your letters in cipher of the 6th of this month were delivered to me yesterday, with five other letters, both in cipher and in packets. The gentleman† who has taken charge to send them to you, having written that he had, by your advice, retained the rest until this communication should be better established; whereupon I have deemed it right to apprise him of my views with all speed, as I do by the bearer, his kinsman, with whom he will acquaint you to adopt hereafter this course, as he himself is about to return to France. Your

---

* *Linomple:* "A fine, thin, or open-waled linen, much used in Picardie (where it is made) for womens kerchers, and churchmens surplesses."—Cotgrave, *sub voce* Linomple.

† Gilbert Gifford.

word alone is sufficient to assure me of your secretary Courdaillot, and, according to that, I shall make account of him in future.

I consider very strange the manner in which Mauvissière has proceeded with you for understanding my affairs here, as I do not think that I have ever given him cause for relieving himself of it in this way. But I do not much regret that you have scarcely employed his cipher; and, if you have made use of it in the letter delivered by you to that man whom you regained, if so be that there is in it anything of importance, do what you can to withdraw it, for it has never been seen nor touched by me or any of my people. Never mind the expense: for that, and for all which you shall judge necessary for my service, I shall always very willingly allow. I desire to know the name of him to whom you have addressed yourself, inasmuch as I may be able to recognize him, and thereupon be able to enlighten you. If it is, as I suspect, one named Philippes, Walsingham's servant, who about Christmas resided in this house upwards of three weeks, beware of committing yourself farther to him, for, now that he has promised to do me service, I know that he plays a double game.

I thank very heartily the King of France, my brother-in-law, for the favourable recommendation of my affairs in Scotland to the Baron d'Esneval. But I much fear that his youth and inexperience of the state of Scotland, with the directions of my brother-in-law, if he is such as you write to me, do not admit of his bringing a negotiation of importance to effect in that quarter, matters there being so ticklish. And therefore I should think it safer to write to Courcelles, who, from being for a long time experienced in matters here, and having credit there with many, could better conduct such correspondence. But at present all means are closed to me, not knowing what can have become of those to whom I have been accustomed to address my letters in cipher, both in the quarter of the North and also upon the borders. You ought yourself to search among our friends for some secret means, either by the English pensioners of the King of France, or

by some archers of the Scottish guard,* passing from France to Scotland through this country. In which you must consider well to make a good choice, the most of these Scotch being devoted to those here, the consequence of their having taken from me the ancient privilege of nominating to the said guard honest people, and such as I could answer for, as formerly was the case, and the King of France had promised me six years ago.

Have a care, if you please, to cause my Lord Claude Hamilton to be well entertained; for he is a nobleman of worth, prudence, and loyalty, and who has a greater influence among those of his surname than his elder brother;† so that, in case that he cannot bring him back to a good way, he is to counterpoise him, and make a party sufficient to overthrow that of England. For be assured that my son, for all the demonstration which he may make to the contrary, by fear of this queen, whom he sees on his head, loves not in his heart either her or anything which comes from this quarter directed by her. And likewise the whole Scottish nation, both nobility and people, except some corrupted private individuals, infinitely detest the authority which she has usurped over them; so that, with a little assistance, either of men or of money only, it would be very easy to make the Scotch throw off the yoke of this queen; as more particularly I could open to you the means, if the King of France were to listen to it; which would greatly serve him to draw off the subsidies with which you write to me that she assists the French Protestants, and to keep her within her own bounds.

I thank you for the good and wise counsel which you give me regarding my son. I have always imputed the failure of his duties to other traitors near him, as to this wretched

* See, in reference to this once distinguished corps, "Papers relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers in France," presented to the Maitland Club by James Dunlop, Esq. Edinburgh, 1835, 4to. The translator of these letters having for some time collected materials for a History of the Guard, would feel much obliged by any documents or indications relating to it being forwarded either to himself or to Mr. Dolman.

† Lord Arbroath.

Master of Gray, having wickedly betrayed us both here, allowing himself to be, like a young fool, bribed by Mr. Walsingham, in the hope of having the estates, rank, and place of the Earl of Arran, to ruin whom he has sold his master. Timeously warn the said Monsieur d'Esneval to place no reliance on the fine words which the said Gray will necessarily give him, to extract from him what he can, and immediately communicate it to this queen.

As for Archibald Douglas, it is more than three years since I discovered his plots here, referring much to the trade which he has constantly carried on in Scotland since the time I was there; and Nau himself, while in London, detected him in many falsehoods. Nevertheless, it has never been in my power to persuade Mauvissière otherwise than that he was the most honourable man in the world, and the most ready to serve me. By the way, I must unburden my heart to you of the just regret which I have in seeing the Duke of Nemours* preferred to my son for the marriage of the Princess of Lorraine, whom I had thought the only one in France for allying to it my said son, and binding him entirely to the King of France and the queen-mother, who showed herself very desirous of it last winter, while Nau was in London, who had instructions from me to treat in it; and, in this expectation, I opposed other schemes which were in agitation in Scotland for marrying my said son elsewhere.

I am very well pleased with the choice which the Queen of England has made of the three councillors of whom you have written to me, for their gentleness and moderation in proceeding in that which concerns as much religion as the state; but he who by chance has thought to estrange the Earl of Leicester from his mistress, has done nothing for her or for himself, in leaving such great forces in his hands.†

If you can in any thing assist in the deliverance and liberty of an English gentleman named Morgan, detained in the Bastille at Paris, I pray you heartily to do so.

---

* The young Duke of Nemours, son of James of Savoy.

† Leicester then commanded the English army in Flanders.

As soon as my embroiderer shall be hence, make him go to France, being a very wicked and corrupted poltroon.

Send me my treasurer's accounts openly, as you will have been told by Chérelles, to whom I shall send a dispatch in cipher for France, if he waits until Easter* to go thither. God have you in His holy keeping.

Postscript by Nau.—Nau humbly kisses hands to Monsieur the Ambassador, and commends himself to Courdaillot.

Lower down.—Deciphered, PHILIPPES.

MEMORIAL BY MONSIEUR DE CHATEAUNEUF UPON BABINGTON'S CONSPIRACY.

[*Original Draught.—Royal Library at Paris; French Supplement.*]

London, without date.

In August of the year 1586, there began to be discovered in England certain plots which were made in favour of the Queen of Scotland, at that time prisoner in Chartley Castle, in the county of Stafford, where she was kept prisoner by the Queen of England, and had been brought there about the feast of Christmas 1585 preceding. The said lady was warded by an English gentleman named Sir Amyas Paulet, who had been charged therewith about two years, a man of honour, who had been ambassador in France, but otherwise a great Huguenot, and partizan of those who are esteemed enemies of the Queen of Scotland.

The said lady, Scottish Queen, had already been prisoner eighteen years, served by her own servants, partly French, partly Scotch, to the number of forty, at the cost of the English Queen, as regarded her kitchen and theirs; but, for the rest of her expenditure, that came to her from France, from the interest of her jointure.

Her principal servants were, Mr. Melvil, a Scotchman, master of her household; Monsieur Nau, her chief secretary;

---

* Easter, in 1586, fell on the 3rd April, according to the old style.

Curle, the other secretary, a Scotchman; a physician; a surgeon; a page of the chamber; Pasquier, her steward; and other officers.

Of gentlewomen she had ten or twelve, most of whom were Scotch; and had brought up a young English girl, niece of the Earl of Shrewsbury, named Elizabeth Pierrepoint, whom she loved very much, and made to eat at her table and sleep with her.

Her affairs in France were managed by the Bishop of Glasgow, her ambassador, a Scotchman; an advocate, named Du Ruisseau, brother-in-law of Nau, to whom she had delivered her seals; Monsieur de Chaulnes, her treasurer; and other people of counsel and finance, who yearly sent to her twenty thousand livres only.

All that was sent from France, both letters and money, passed through the hands of the French ambassador resident at London, who delivered the whole to Mr. Walsingham, Secretary of State to the English Queen, to be given to the said lady the Scottish Queen; who and all her servants were so strictly warded, that nobody could speak or write to them without its being seen and read by the said Mr. Walsingham or Paulet, as, in like manner, all the letters which she wrote to the French ambassador and those of her council were seen and read before they were sent to them.

At that time the ambassador in England for the King of France was the Honourable William de l'Aubespine, Baron of Châteauneuf-sur-Cher, in Berry, councillor of his majesty's council of state, who arrived there in August 1585, and served the said lady the Scottish Queen in her business which she had with the English Queen, as the other ambassadors had done before him, and as he also had express commands from the king his master.

The said lady fleeing from Scotland in the year 1568, in consequence of the rebellion of her subjects, had retired to England, where she had been detained until that day prisoner under different pretexts, the most part of the time at [Sheffield] a house of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and warded by him,

where she had sufficient liberty, and had easily sent to her secret letters by the ambassadors of France and her servants.

The said lady was the true heritrix of the crown of England, after the death of Queen Elizabeth, and besides that was a Catholic; so that, as these qualities conciliated to her many secret adherents in England, namely, all the Catholics, of which there are a great number, so was it the cause why she had the hatred and fear of the Protestants, and especially of all the great people who governed that kingdom. So that, by one means or another, they never ceased to calumniate her all the time of her imprisonment, to endeavour to induce the queen to put her to death. Almost at the beginning they accused her of having had an arrangement with the Duke of Norfolk to marry him and make a disturbance in the kingdom, so that the said duke was beheaded for it in the year 1572; and since then they always accused her of all the plots which the Catholics made in the kingdom, the most of which they said were made in her favour.

In the year 1584, they held a parliament, in which it was decreed that whoever should attempt, directly or indirectly, against the queen or her kingdom, should be guilty of high-treason, and should lose all right which they could pretend to the crown, if he was of those who might pretend thereto. They added prohibitions to all, on the same penalty, to speak of the succession, or of the heir of the queen to the crown of England.

In the year 1584, while the said lady was in the house of the said Earl of Shrewsbury, the said earl was accused of giving too much liberty to the said lady, and was in trouble for it; so that he demanded to be discharged from it; which was the reason that the said lady was carried to a castle of the queen, named Tutbury, and there placed in the hands of one named Sir Ralph Sadler, councillor of state, who warded her about a twelvemonth.

At the beginning of the year 1585, the said Sadler was changed, and in his place was sent Sir Amyas Paulet, who had been ambassador in France, and, on account of this charge, he was made of the council of state;—a great Hu-

guenot, and entirely at the command of the enemies of the Queen of Scotland, and a man very rigorous.

While she was in the hands of the said Sadler and Paulet, she lost all means of having secret letters from any part whatever, and during the said years 1584 and 1585; so that Monsieur de Mauvissière, on quitting his charge of ambassador, in September 1585, left in the hands of Monsieur de Châteauneuf, his successor, a great quantity of secret packets for the said lady, which he had been unable to send to her during the years aforesaid.

The report common in England and throughout Europe was, that the principal lords of the council of England endeavoured no other thing than to incite Queen Elizabeth to put to death the said Queen of Scotland, and, for that reason, persuaded her that the Pope, the Catholic king, and those of the house of Guise in France, near relatives of the said queen, and all the English Catholics, made daily plots and enterprises to kill the said Queen Elizabeth, to the end that by her death the said Mary, Queen of Scotland, should succeed to the crown of England, and re-establish there the Catholic religion, which Queen Elizabeth had swept away at her accession. However, the said Queen Elizabeth always abstained from doing this, from fear of the King of France, and of the King of Scotland, son of the said Queen Mary.

At last, in the year 1586, about the commencement of the year, there came into England a young man named Gilbert Gifford, son of an English gentleman, a Catholic, and brother of one of the queen's pensioners, whom we call in France the hundred gentlemen of the king's household. The said Gifford came from France, where he had been educated seven or eight years among the Jesuits, and had been in Italy and Spain, and spoke all languages very well. He was sent to Monsieur de Châteauneuf with letters from the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Queen of Scotland's ambassador in France, from one named Morgan, an English refugee in France on account of religion, who was much devoted to the Queen of Scotland, and from some other English in France, refugees also on account of religion, who usually applied to the French

ambassador on their private matters, inasmuch as they had no means of writing to their friends in England and receiving any money, except through the medium of the ambassadors.

The said Gifford (as it will afterwards be seen) was a man instigated by the lords of the English council to destroy the Queen of Scotland, as in all the courts of Europe they have men, who, under pretence of being Catholics, act as their spies, and nowhere—neither at the college of the Jesuits, nor at Rome, nor in France—are they not to be found who daily say mass to disguise themselves, and better serve this princess. Also there are many priests in England tolerated by her, to be able, by means of auricular confessions, to discover the plots of the Catholics.

And it must be known that the said Queen Elizabeth, a very wary princess, has four lords of her council with whom she conducts her affairs with great cunning, both towards the other Christian princes and towards the Huguenots and Catholics. The said four are, Christopher Hatton, High Chancellor; William Cecil, called Lord Burghley, High Treasurer of England; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, High Steward of her Household; and Francis Walsingham, sole Secretary of State. These four have been raised by her from humble condition to great honours, for different reasons.

The chancellor and the treasurer have always made a pretence of taking the part and favouring the affairs of the King of Spain, also of the Catholics in this kingdom. The Earl of Leicester and Walsingham, on the contrary, have always shewn themselves great Protestants, and appeared to have affection to France. But, in reality, the whole is merely a masquerade, played with the knowledge of their mistress, to deceive the ministers of these princes, and ruin the English Catholics and all those who favoured the Queen of Scotland.

Now, to return to the said Gifford, he came into England in the month of December 1585, with letters from the said Glasgow, Morgan, Paget, and other English refugees in France; who testified that he was a man faithful and steady to the Queen of Scotland, as one who was very Catholic, and educated so long among the Jesuits. The French ambas-

sador had among his secretaries one named Cordaillot, to whom he had entrusted the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, and those of these poor English Catholic refugees, to receive their letters, cause them be delivered, and send them the answers to them, with the money which their relations and friends provided them. Cordaillot having seen the letters of the said Gifford, asked him the reason of his journey hither. He said to him that he was sent here by the servants of the Queen of Scotland, to find means of conveying to her secret letters, a thing which he said he was able to do, inasmuch as the castle where the said queen was, was nigh to the residence of his father. And he said to him that he had undertaken this journey, and was entrusted with this commission, owing to the desire which he had of doing service to the said Queen of Scots for the sake of religion, and of seeking the means of making her aware of what passed in France and elsewhere, in order thereafter to consider with her the method of delivering her from that captivity, if he could do so; or at least to afford her the consolation of being able to have letters from her friends and servants who were in France. To which the ambassador made him small answer, fearing that he was a spy of those of the council, as they had already to this instigated several others, to discover if the said ambassador had not secret communication with the Queen of Scotland; indeed he warned him to have a care, inasmuch as he would be easily discovered and arrested if he was such as he said.

He replied to him that he was not known as an Englishman, inasmuch as he had been absent from this kingdom since the age of ten or twelve years; that even his father and his sisters could not recognize him, as in truth he was very young, and had in a manner no beard. He withdrew; and, according to what has since been known, he resided with one named Philippes, the principal servant of Mr. Walsingham, by means of whom he conducted all his plot.

About the end of the year 1585, the Queen of Scotland was removed from Tutbury Castle, and carried to Chartley, in the county of Stafford, a house belonging to the Earl of

Essex, son-in-law of the Earl of Leicester, a residence nigh that of Gifford's father.

The said Gifford remained at London all the month of January, secretly tampering with the Catholics devoted to the Queen of Scotland, and discovering their intentions, and sometimes came to the ambassador's residence to speak to the secretary Cordaillot, to learn if there had no letters come for him from France, which were directed to him under the name of Nicolas Cornelius. At last, wishing to go to the Queen of Scotland, he came to the said ambassador, who delivered to him a letter to the said lady, written in the cipher which she had been accustomed to use with Monsieur de Mauvissière, in which there was nothing but ordinary topics.

The first day of March 1586, the said Gifford *alias* Cornelius, having returned, brought to the French ambassador a reply to the said letter, with a very complete cipher from the said lady queen, quite new, which she requested him to employ thenceforward with her, expressed her joy at this means which had opened to her of being able to correspond secretly with him, requested him to forward to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in France, the letters enclosed in the packet, and added that she begged him to confide in the said Cornelius, and arrange with him the distribution of letters in future, both of those which the said lady might write to her private servants of London, and those which she might write into France.

With that he had letters from Monsieur Nau, her principal secretary, directed to Cordaillot, in reference to the private affairs of the said Nau, particularly, to treat about the marriage of the said Nau with the father of a girl named Pierrepoint, educated under the eye of the Queen of Scotland, and very much beloved by her; which father was then at London, and in person treated of the said marriage secretly between the said Nau and the girl aforesaid, contrary to the will of the Queen of Scotland their mistress.

In short, the said lady queen and her principal servants reposed great confidence in the said Gifford, both from the assurance which they had received of him from France from

the Archbishop of Glasgow, Morgan and others, and also because he had opened to them a way which for a long time had been closed to them; and thence came the ruin of the said lady.

The said Gifford had no conversation with the said lady, nor had any acquaintance with or access to her house, which was too well watched by the said Paulet, who had fifty soldiers who formed a guard day and night; and if he had got entry there, the plot would have been too easily detected, as nothing could have been done by him unknown to the said Paulet.

Gifford applied himself to the person who supplied beer for the queen's use, which, according to the custom of England, was carried weekly; and having caused to be made a small box of hollow wood, he put his packets in the said box firmly shut, and threw them into a vessel of beer; which the butler took out, and delivered to Nau, who, on the next message of the carter, returned the vessel with the reply. The said provider of beer kept a league off from the place when they went to look for the said letters.

Now, all this was done with the cognizance of Walsingham and Paulet, who read all the letters and answers, then with similar seals closed them again.

The said Gifford having arrived with these packets on the first day of March aforesaid, delivered them to the ambassador, discoursed to him on all the means which he had taken, said to him that between London and Chartley, which are distant from each other about forty leagues, there were two houses of Catholic gentlemen, his friends; that the one nearest Chartley sent every week to the brewer to enquire for letters, then sent them to the other gentleman nearer to London, who sent them to London to the residence of the said ambassador, by one of his servants, sometimes habited as a locksmith, sometimes as a porter, sometimes as a joiner, sometimes as a wagoner, and so in different ways; who, on arriving, enquired for the secretary Cordaillot, and delivered the said packet into his hands, and at the end of four-and-twenty hours returned to enquire for the answer, and also

for the packets which had come from France, or from the other secret servants of the said queen who were in London. He added, that the said two gentlemen did not know whence the said packets came, and the said messenger knew nothing about it either; wherefore, that he should never let it appear that that came from the queen of Scotland, it sufficed on each journey to give him an angel to encourage him to do well.

The ambassador replied to him, that he had express orders from his master (as he had) to send to the Archbishop of Glasgow all the secret letters which his mistress should write to him, and the answers to her; that this was a thing which he willingly did, from the compassion which he had for her misery, but admonished him to conduct himself prudently, and not to ruin the said princess, or many of the Catholic peers who were in this kingdom, who without doubt would be destroyed, if the English Council knew that they had any correspondence with the said lady the queen of Scotland. The said Gifford strongly assured him of his fidelity and diligence, insomuch that it was settled that in future the said messenger should carry his letters to the said secretary Condaillot, who should cause them to be conveyed into France to the said Archbishop of Glasgow, and the replies from the said archbishop to the queen, as also he should deliver in London the letters which the queen wrote there to her secret servants, according to the directions, and send the answers to them. And, to begin, the said ambassador, according to that which the queen had written to him, put into the hands of the said Gifford all these old packets which had been left to him by Monsieur de Mauvissière, which, because they were too large, as the said Gifford said to him, were by him and Cordaillot opened and made into smaller bundles, to be conveyed more easily and at different times, as the said Gifford said; who, having sent the said packets, determined to return to France, to communicate orally with the queen's servants, and tell them what he had negotiated here.

Now, what he had negotiated was that he, instigated by those of the council, had agreed with Morgan, Paget, and others who were at Paris, usually keeping company with

Bernard de Mendoça, the Spanish ambassador, that he should come here, [and] should seek for some English Catholic gentlemen who would undertake to deliver the Queen of Scotland. To accomplish that, it was necessary to have some sea-port for the reception of some ships from Flanders to carry her off; it was also necessary to have some gentlemen of the country, who could collect a hundred or a hundred and twenty horsemen to carry her off and escort her; and it was necessary to have with them some who at the same time should kill the Queen of England, and others who should make themselves masters of the Tower.

If the Queen of England was dead, they thought that the Queen of Scotland being lawful heretrix, all the nobility would take her part, and then it would not be necessary to leave the kingdom; but if they could not kill [the Queen of England] they must study to save [the Queen of Scotland]; and whatever happened, they must carry her off out of the hands of her keeper, inasmuch as they knew well that if they were to kill the Queen of England, Sir [Amyas] Paulet would cause the Queen of Scotland to be slain, if she were still in his power.

Such were the designs of the said Gifford projected at Paris, by people ill-experienced in the world, and who suffered themselves to go into the proposals of the aforesaid Gifford, instigated by the council of England, who sought no other thing than to involve the Queen of Scotland again in a conspiracy against the life of the Queen of England; which being discovered, they might be able to incite the said Queen of England to put her to death, a thing which they had not yet known how to obtain.

The Spanish ambassador, so far for his own part excited, inasmuch as he had been driven from England two years before, sought nothing better than to find people who should embarrass the Queen of England, who at the same time had undertaken the protection of the Low Countries against the King of Spain, their lawful sovereign, and had sent a Captain Drake to the Indies to make war on that side. On this account, the said De Mendoça omitted no fine promises, as well to the said Gifford and those who were at Paris, as to the

others who were in England, to incite them to it, with promises of a fleet and all the assistance of his master.

Now, the said Gifford, who usually communicated the whole to Walsingham through the medium of Philipps, his servant, found at London one named Anthony Babington, a young gentleman very Catholic, and who, having been brought up as page at Lord Shrewsbury's whilst the said lady was a prisoner there, had an affection for her (he was very young, beardless, and very simple). This person allowed himself to embark in this enterprise, and drew into it one of his own friends, an Irishman named Barnevel, Tichbourne, Salisbury, Savage, and others.

The main thing was to persuade the said Babington, a Catholic, and the others, that they could execute this enterprise against Queen Elizabeth without doing violence to their conscience; for this purpose, the said Gifford went again to France, where, having communicated with those who had sent him, he sent to England an English priest, named Ballard, who had formerly served as a spy to Walsingham against the Catholics, and who, since then, acknowledging his error, had entirely broken off his acquaintance, as it was said. The said Ballard was for his learning very much esteemed by the Catholics, the most of whom were ignorant of that in which he was formerly mixed up; he came to London, and, some days after, came to the residence of the French ambassador, with another, to enquire whether there were any letters from France for him which were addressed to him under a fictitious name, and there saluted the ambassador, in his lobby, without entering into any discourse, or making himself known to him or his secretary, except as a Catholic. Indeed they determined not to communicate their enterprise to the said ambassador, as it appears by the letter from the Queen of Scotland to Babington of 27th July,* in which she entreats him to make nothing known to him, and, indeed, all the letters of the said lady to Babington and his accomplices, and their replies, did not pass through the hands of the ambassador; but those

* That is to say, of 17th July, old style.

only which went to France to the Archbishop of Glasgow and his replies to the queen. Soon there came to him some from France for Cornelius, Babington, Ballard, and other Catholics, which the said secretary Cordaillot caused to be conveyed to them or delivered them himself; and, among others, one day the said secretary having gone to look for Babington to deliver letters to him, he found him in his house in company with four or five young men, and it seemed to him that they were assembled on some business of importance; of which he immediately informed the said ambassador.

The said Cornelius went to France at the end of March; he made two or three journeys without stopping very long during that summer until the 2nd of July, and came each time to the residence of the ambassador to know if he had any packets there for him, inasmuch as at his departure from Paris he had not taken charge of them, but caused them to be directed to the said ambassador, the better to hide his game.

Thus the plot began in March, and only lasted till the end of July, when the whole was discovered, as in truth those who had instigated it discovered it when they wished.

During the foresaid period, the ambassador had several hints that something was in agitation in favour of the Queen of Scotland against the Queen of England; on the other hand he was informed that all the letters which he wrote to the Queen of Scotland privately were inspected.* He had, from the beginning of that negotiation, suspected all these designs, from his thorough knowledge of the natural disposition of the English, and was aware how subtle the ministers of the Queen of England were in such matters, and especially he had had experience and assurance of it since the time of his being in England. And, indeed, at the beginning of that negotiation of Gifford, he had opened a packet from the Queen of Scotland to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and one

* In consequence of the treason of Chérelles, and the measures which, after his recall, were taken by Walsingham and Paulet, Mary was so vigilantly watched, that not one of the letters which were addressed to her could escape the investigation of the English agents.

from the said Glasgow to the Queen, to see of what it treated, but having found the whole written in cipher, he could learn nothing from them, and certainly if it had pleased the Queen of Scotland to disclose it to him, he thinks that she would not have fallen into the misfortune which has ruined her.

He often warned the said Cordaillot to write nothing in the letters which he sent to Nau, or the other servants of the queen, which could prejudice any person or might be blamed; and in those which he wrote to the queen, in cipher and privately, he never wished him to write anything which could be found fault with, or of which the English could complain, as they would not have failed to do after the capture of the Queen of Scotland, having had in their hands all the letters of the said ambassador to the queen, all which the said lady had preserved, and were found among her papers, and are still in the hands of the Queen of England. For he always suspected that the whole was but a plot and scheme of the lords of the council of England, and particularly of the secretary Walsingham; and what confirmed him the more was, that about the month of April in the said year 1586, being with the queen at an audience, speaking to her on the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, and urging upon her something which did not please the said lady, she said to him: "Mr. Ambassador, you have great and secret communication with the Queen of Scotland, but believe me that I know everything which is done in my kingdom; and as I was a prisoner in the time of the queen my sister, I know what devices prisoners employ to gain over servants and have secret communications." That discourse, being directed to him by the queen, made him more suspicious than before.

Now then passed the months of March, April, May, June, and till about the end of July: the said Gifford coming and going frequently to France, and also the Queen of Scotland sending often that messenger disguised to the ambassador's residence, to bring these letters and carry back to her what came from France.

About the 30th July [20th July, old style], the said Gifford came to the ambassador's house, spoke to his secretary, said

to him that he desired to send a man to France in haste, and besought him to give him the means, and that, said he, because the letters which we write from this quarter are too long to be sent and be replied to. The ambassador then dispatched to the king one of his servants, named Dujardin, who had returned from Scotland, whither the said ambassador had sent him on the king's service; and, this opportunity presenting itself, the secretary said to him that their man might pass as the servant of the said Dujardin, carrying his trunk, and that was so agreed upon between them; and they were apprised of the day of departure, which was the next day at the evening tide, by way of Calais; he was told that the said man held himself ready for that purpose. And with the said Gifford was Savage and a third person, who was he whom they said was to go to France.

The next day at evening the said Gifford returned, and said that he had changed his mind, and that he himself would cross to France with Dujardin,* and had come all prepared; of which the said secretary apprised the ambassador, who became suspicious of it, and made the said Gifford come into his closet, where were Dujardin and Cordaillot.

Being there, he demanded of him the reason for his journey, telling to him that he saw well enough that he was engaged in some plot with the Queen of Scotland, going and coming to France often, but that he entreated him to take care that he did not ruin that princess, who had enemies about the queen; that those who were beyond the sea, being out of danger, had no dread in exciting those on this side to undertake a hazardous enterprise, and particularly Bernard de Mendoça, who only desired to work his master's business by sowing dissensions here, to torment the Queen of

---

* The dispatch of M. de Châteauneuf to Brulart, the secretary of state, preserved in the Royal Library, MSS. Colbert, No. 337, fol. 845, proves in the most certain manner that Dujardin, who was directed to carry this dispatch to France, did not leave London till the 21st July,—that is to say, three days after the last reply of Mary to Babington had been sent to Philipps. See examination of this letter by Prince Labanoff, *Recueil*, tom. vi. p. 397.

England; that if their enterprise was attempted by few individuals, and those of inferior rank, it would be impossible to execute it; if, on the contrary, they communicated it to many, and particularly to the great people, that she . . . .*

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Cotemporary Decipher.—State Paper Office, London; Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. xvii.

From Chartley, the 18th May, 1586.

You will have heard by my last letters, about the end of February, of the recovery of this conveyance, by which I expected, before this time, to receive your news. Nevertheless, there have been delivered to me all at once your letters of the 24th . . . and penultimate . . . 1584, . . . and of the 20th February, 26th March, and . . . 1585, of which it will be sufficient for me to reply to the points referred to below, inasmuch as, of the rest there contained, the opportunities for treating of them are now past; and, having no true and certain information of the present state of affairs in Christendom, or of the designs of the Catholic princes, it is quite impossible for me to resolve on or renew any certain course with them for my condition here.

Endeavour by all means which you can to discover for certain the grounds of the design of the King of Spain for revenging himself against this queen, and especially if it is for an enterprise in this country, or only thereby to counteract the attempt of the Earl of Leicester in Flanders, and of Drake upon the Indies; because upon that depends entirely the resolution which I and all the Catholics here have to take for our part.

Thank very heartily the King of Spain, by his ambassador,

---

* In spite of all Prince Labanoff's researches among the papers of M. de Châteauneuf, he could not find the rest of this interesting memorial, which was probably written in the course of the year 1587. It is inserted in the *Recueil* before the correspondence relative to this conspiracy, to which it serves as a preliminary and elucidation.

Don Bernardino, for the twelve thousand crowns which he had granted, at my request, to my son. But it is not my intention that you should send him a penny of it, until you know that he acknowledges better his duty to me, or that you should make farther remonstrance for his pension there, and less for the arrears in his favour, or that you should act in any thing for him without my command. For I do not wish to furnish him with wherewith to strengthen against me my very rebels, whom he has about him, as happened with the last six thousand crowns which you sent to him, which have only served for the journey of Gray hither, to come to betray me, the Duke of Guise, and all those who had confided in him. Do not touch, then, the said twelve thousand crowns until I write to you more particularly my will regarding them. As for the other similar sum which I had requested for myself, if I had received it at Wingfield, with the overtures which were then made to me for escaping from it, I think that I should have effected it during the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, my other keepers* having given to me much more liberty than usual. But now I am very differently warded and watched, and cannot chance to gain over any one of this house; and therefore I would not farther press for the said sum, if it were not that, of yourself, showing privately to the said Bernardino the present exigence of my affairs in France, and the great charges which it is necessary for me to support in that country, for the maintenance of my friends there, and for recovering now these new correspondents, you were to sound him, if his master would supply and assist me with this sum, which so lying by me would always be to me a certain fund for use on such a good opportunity as might suddenly present itself, and which for want of means I might be forced to let be lost. I leave this proceeding to your judgment of the facility with which it can be obtained or not, for I do not wish to become importunate.

I am very much pleased with the fortunate success of the

* Sir Ralph Sadler and Somers.

enterprise of the gentlemen my relations,* and of the good and firm determination which I have lately heard, by Monsieur de Châteauneuf, the King of France has taken and reiterated anew, of suffering no other religion than his own in his kingdom.† I have been advised to require to be admitted and received in their league; but I do not see what advantage I could receive from it, to counterbalance the risk which I should run here if it came to be discovered; and, therefore, my intention is to enter into no league, unless it is general with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the other Catholic princes, and that from them all together I have good promises and assurances for the restoration of religious matters here. However, if you can make his Holiness and all the principal Catholic kings and princes agree together to demand unanimously my liberty from this queen, I think that it would serve at least to make me more respected and better treated here.

I very much approve of your advice, to labour to bring my son back to the faith: but, alas! I believe him farther off than ever, and fear much that those who are about him, being wholly at the service of this queen, never permit him to hear anything tending thereto, founding his imaginary greatness and their own ambition upon the maintenance of heresy in this island and his alienation from me. And, what is worse, he is supported in it by my own people, who, instead of increasing and adding weight to my maternal authority over him, have exerted themselves to discredit and thwart my proceedings with him; to which they ought to take good care in future. For, if it were not through me, and on my account, I think that they would not themselves find much credit there or elsewhere. You have seen how that wicked traitor Gray has abused it, and I hope it will be to his ruin; charging you, as expressly as I can, to labour on your part, by all means in your power, to overthrow him with my son, and make him

* The Duke of Mayenne had recaptured several strongholds from the Protestants.

† Alluding to the treaty of Nemours.

known in all places on that side for his conduct towards me; of which you will have further insight by the account of the whole negotiation from Nau, which I resolve to send to you by the next opportunity. And, in the meantime, I will tell you briefly that the journey of the said Nau was of very great importance to me, to break a design formed among the Puritans of this kingdom, to make me be condemned and declared incapable to succeed to this crown by the parliament then assembled, to which they had factiously chosen the chief persons among them for the provinces and burghs of this kingdom; as also to suppress a very wicked and detestable association for my death, or rather proscription, got up among them under the name of this queen, and under the pretext of her safety; which has been frustrated.

You will perceive also, by this negotiation for my liberty, what has been done to protract my going out of the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, awaiting the proof which he might have against his wicked wife; whom at length Nau made to contradict, in the presence of the said queen and her council, all the reports which she had falsely propagated against my honour, and who is now-a-days reduced to this pass to court me, confess her fault and ingratitude, and beg pardon for it. He likewise obtained a public prohibition of Buchanan's history. With regard to my condition, treatment, and ordinary conveniences here, I must confess that, except being deprived of private correspondence, I and my people have every cause of being content with it; nor is any one of them ever refused at the gate to go to walk as far as they think fit, being now always accompanied by a soldier; and for the upper servants, they have the same liberty on horseback, but in this they are so closely watched, in all that they may have to do, by some English, both without and within this house, that I have not known till now to establish any other mode of communication that that, through the address of poor Morgan, which I formerly wrote to you to assist him in the suit for his liberation; and again I charge you, with all the earnestness I am able, to continue the good offices which he writes to me he has already received from you, as I cannot, without very great ingratitude, neglect him in the misery in which he is on my account

alone. For I know that his imprisonment has been procured by the Earl of Leicester, in consequence of an opinion which he has taken, and of which he discoursed fully to Nau at London, that the said Morgan had, with you and my Lord Paget, composed the book which was published against him nearly two years ago;* for which he was in the utmost rage against all three.

I am informed on good authority that Pinart is very ill affected towards me and my relations; and therefore I desire less than ever that you give him in writing any matter of state of which you shall treat with the King of France, and which you shall think may hurt me if it should happen to be disclosed; as it is a form quite unusual, and to which I think that hardly any of your companions would submit or agree.

I have seen the letter of the late Cardinal Borromeo;† for which you will thank Dr. Lewis, until I have occasion to write to him. In room of the late Cardinal Sermonet, I leave you to make choice either of the Cardinal of Pelleuse, if he will accept of that protection,‡ or of the Cardinal of Montdevis;§ and, failing them, write to me what other you shall judge most proper for it.

---

* "The Copie of a Letter wryten by a master of arte of Cambridge to his friend in London, concerning some talke past of late betwen two worshypful and grave men, about the present state, and some procedinges of the Erle of Leycester and his friendis in England," 1584, 8vo. The same work was afterwards reprinted under the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth."

† St. Charles Borromeo,—the redeeming light of a scandalous age, and the restorer of ecclesiastical discipline when almost annihilated by the disorders of civil and religious warfare,—descended from one of the most illustrious families of Lombardy, was born on the banks of the Lago Maggiore, 2nd October 1538. He died, after a life of resolute labour and piety, 4th November 1584, at the early age of forty-six; and was elevated to the honours of canonization by His Holiness Paul V, in 1610.

‡ One of the cardinals had, at the court of Rome, the charge of the spiritual affairs of Scotland; he bore the title of Protector of the Church of Scotland.

§ Vincent Lauro or Lauria, a native of Calabria, elevated to the purple in 1583, died at Rome in 1592, and was interred in the church of St. Clement.

Continue the pension which I have given to Fuljambe and his brother-in-law, and recommend them earnestly to the Spanish ambassador, that he may procure some pension from the king his master, to whom the slenderness of my means constrains me to have recourse in that. You will have seen how by my general account I have employed both his private pensions and . . . . seminaries, in order that he may be satisfied of it without any difficulty. I intend that the thirty crowns which you have given to one named Poley* shall be repaid to you. Write to me often and fully to inform me timeously of the course and state of affairs both in Scotland and France, and of all which shall concern my service there. Meanwhile, I pray God that He may have you in His holy keeping.

From Chartley, 28th May, 1586 (*the* 18*th old style*).

P.S.—My Lord of Glasgow,—Since the present was written, I have received yours of last March, with that of La Rue, which he dates of the 24th . . . The haste of this dispatch not permitting me to reply to either the one or the other, I shall only tell you that I am informed my son has of new a firm league with this queen. If it is so, endeavour there to break it off, or at least to make the Scotch affected to the alliance of France desist from it. That all traffic with Scotland be prohibited in France, and all Scotch ships laid under embargo, on pretence of having broken the alliance with France. This is the most ready and certain expedient for bringing them back to a sense of their duty. Earnestly, in my name, beseech the Duke of Guise that in God's name he may be vigilantly on his guard against the ambushes and secret plots of his enemies at court, without relying upon any promise or demonstration of good will whatsoever which may be made to him, for they do not cease underhand to treat with those here against all his designs and good intentions.

The 28th of May (*the* 18*th old style*).

---

* The vile tool of Walsingham, and betrayer of the unfortunate Babington.

To Monsieur de Chateauneuf.

[*Cotemporary Copy.—State Paper Office, London; Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. xvii.

From Chartley, the 31st May, 1586.

Mr. Ambassador,—It not having been in my power to have the whole decipher of yours of the 10th of April before the departure of the person who brought them to me, I was obliged to defer replying to them until now. Your others, of the last of the same month having been since delivered to me, I have received all the old packets delivered to this gentleman,* who has discharged himself faithfully and carefully; but there are still others in the hands of some who were accustomed to serve me, before my change, at Tutbury, which I shall give orders to be carried to you, in order that they may be sent to me by this conveyance, as I do not wish to commit or risk them to other than you and those who at present conduct it. I should find it very convenient to remove the covers from the secret packets to reduce them to smaller bundles, as you have latterly done, were it not that, in so doing, I could not very often know the conveyances and directions by which they were sent to me, and to whom I should send the reply; which you can judge relates to the safety of those who have written to me, some being for committal to the fidelity of him who would not suffer it to be known to any other that they have correspondence with me.

I should desire very much to know if you have yet recovered any means of writing secretly to Scotland, so that I might appoint you there some correspondence for the King of France your master, and for myself, according as events in it might hereafter occur. As for the message of the Countess of Shrewsbury, I consider it to be a mere trick to discover indirectly if you have secret correspondence with me, whether you take upon you to write to me the said message, which they might very well think that you would impart to me by the means of Mr. Walsingham, or whether you return

* Gilbert Gifford.

other answer from me, which they will see equally well that you have not had by the ordinary conveyance. And, therefore, I am of opinion that if they urge farther upon you this reconciliation, you will only reply that, such great and serious causes of enmity having passed between the said countess and me, you would not undertake to speak to me of reconciliation without a very solid and very express assurance of proof of the repentance of the said countess; whereupon you will desire her to enter into particulars, and will endeavour to learn from her as far as you can, promising to her only to give me information of all by the first conveyance which you can recover, and from yourself exert yourself as far as you can to effect this reconciliation. But, beforehand, I do not wish to conceal from you my resolution that her extreme ingratitude, and the terms in which she has acted against me, do not permit me, with my honour (which I hold dearer than all the greatness in this world), to have ever anything to do with so wicked a woman.

I thank you for the part which you have given me of your news, and entreat you to continue to impart them to me as particularly as your convenience will permit; the knowledge of foreign affairs assisting me greatly in looking to my own here. The packet here inclosed is to be sent to Morgan by the conveyance which he has arranged with you.

The last of May.

Autograph Postscript.—Mr. Ambassador,—I entreat you earnestly that that young lady* may be honourably taken back by her father and mother from me. To this effect deal with them as soon as you can, making them aware of my intention in that respect, which is to see her well provided for to their satisfaction; and, to tell you more frankly, I desire, for many reasons, to be well quit of her, especially on account of her grandmother.

---

* Elizabeth Pierrepoint.

To the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[*Cotemporary Decipher.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. xviii.]

From Chartley, the 12th July [1586].

I hoped before now to receive more fully your news as to that of which I formerly wrote to you; which has caused me to detain the answer to yours of the last of March. Your proceedings with the ambassador Stafford please me exceedingly; and, from regard to his great friend, I beseech you to keep him in this humour as carefully as you can. I see no likelihood that my keeper, although he depends on the same quarter, will be ever induced to this tolerance of communication, being so exact and precise, even to the smallest matters relating to his charge, that he could not watch me and treat me in that respect more rigorously were he the greatest enemy which I had in this kingdom. I have heard some vague report that he is to be relieved from keeping me before the end of this summer, and that they are in treaty to entrust me to the Earl of Shrewsbury, which I can hardly believe. I am well aware that this queen is about to determine something as to my future condition here, of which I expect information at the earliest convenience from the French ambassador.

I believe that you will not at this time require to be informed of the particulars of the league which she has newly concluded with my son, and not, as I am informed, without the consent and secret approval of the King of France, so that I much fear you will in vain exert yourself with him to traverse the said league, as I had written to you by my last. Do not omit nevertheless to do all in your power to break it. The greatest regret which I have from it is that the said league will entirely quench in the hearts of all the Catholic princes what remained to them of good will to assist in the restoration of matters in this quarter, finding also all their affections so alienated from my son that I no longer know whereon or how to continue any correspondence with him, so much is every one hopeless, and myself the foremost, that he will never serve the cause of God or mine. And therefore, until there shall happen some alteration in the present govern-

ment in Scotland, or that the Pope and the King of Spain are better disposed to see to the affairs of this island, I can write to you nothing certain or determined regarding Scotland, and do not see to what purpose they can enter upon any negotiation or expense for it. The fathers* who have been sent there, can perchance give us more light on it; and I am very anxious to know, by your next, what progress they have made, and likewise if the conduct of my lord Claude,† since his coming to my son, has corresponded with his promises. I have always found him, even during his exile in this country, very loyal and constant in his duty to me, and I think that he will not now fail in it, having more means to give me proof of it. It vexes me much that I have no means of making him some honourable present, and likewise power to make a footing there, as he will be much required for the management and guidance of the negotiations both in Scotland and this country; but, as they say, necessity has no law, and you know as well as myself the distress to which I am reduced to provide merely my own personals and the wages of my servants, and the pensions of the English to whom I am obliged. As long as I had the means I spared nothing of my own money, and of all the assistance which I could obtain elsewhere, there has never a penny come to my use or private convenience; I shall endeavour to provide as well as I can for the maintenance of the conveyances which shall be directed to me in this country for continuing my correspondence with you all there, but it is not in my power to go beyond it. Which I beg you will testify to Charles Paget and Morgan from me, recommending to you, as earnestly as I can, the payment of the pensions which I have ordered them, as also those of Foljambe and his brother-in-law. Continue to that young man, Ralston, what you have already appointed for him.

As for the negotiations with Rome, I think it more expedient to leave them entirely to Dr. Lewis, since he now resides there, being a very capable person, and skilled in matters

* The Jesuits. † Hamilton.

here. You will receive for him a note here enclosed, and another for the Cardinal of Montdevis, to whom you will make known the selection which I had made of him for the office of Protector of Scotland, before I was aware of his nomination to it by his Holiness, and you will recommend to him in my name, with all earnestness, the poor Scotch seminary, that it may please his Holiness to continue to them the liberality of his predecessors, and assist them otherwise in their necessities, as you can more particularly declare to him.

I made mention to you in my last of the twelve thousand crowns for myself, but I am greatly in trouble for the other four thousand with which Charles Arundel and Charles Paget about three years ago supplied Morgan for the service of his Holiness and the King of Spain, on the assurance of reimbursement which their ambassadors gave to the said Morgan; for which sum they now wish to hold me liable, inasmuch as the Duke of Guise and you interfered in it, and that in your presence the whole was paid, both in different accounts and in a silver vessel, till it came near to the said sum. I remember to have formerly written to you about it, and thought that it had been paid; the importance of the matter being of itself sufficient to remind those who are indebted in it to see it soon paid. See then, I pray you, to urge as quickly as you can the nuncio of his Holiness and the Spanish ambassador, to cause this condition to be settled by their masters, since, in their name, their ambassadors have made themselves liable for it. The sum is small and of little moment to them in comparison of the inconveniences which by the failure of it may happen to myself. Speak of it also to the Duke of Guise, and thank him for the communication of his good intentions towards me. Give him the alphabet that he may entrust it to whom he pleases; but in truth I should prefer that he gave it to you than to any other about him, being much afraid that he and I have not been well served hitherto in such things by his secretaries.

What I have above alluded to of the very urgent necessity of my affairs will serve for a reply to what you have written to me of the Earl of Westmoreland; and, for want of my

ability to assist him from my own means, recommend him in my name to his Holiness and the King of Spain.

I have not as yet discovered any thing of Chérelles, approaching that whereof you write to me; however, I think it very proper to avoid trusting in him. God have you, Mr. Ambassador, in his holy keeping.

Chartley, the 12th of July.

To Monsieur de Chateauneuf.

[*Cotemporary Decipher.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. xix.]

From Chartley, the 13th July [1586].

Mr. Ambassador,—I thank you for having informed me by this conveyance of the Queen of England's reply to my demands; for, by the ordinary one, I have not for some time past received any letters from you. Touching Pierrepoint, I have written to you, by mine of the 25th of last month, how I have acted with my keeper, and the reasons which cause me to retain her. Whereupon I am sure that you will not fail to acquit me fully with the Queen of England, and to endeavour that she may be pleased to take the said Pierrepoint into her service, or at least that I may be able to send her back honourably to her parents, as I have desired.

I do not know what determination has been taken for my change of residence and the passports of my servants; but my keeper, for some days, has shown himself much more rigorous and overbearing than ordinary, cutting off entirely all access round about this house from every one whosoever, and intending to reduce the expenditure of my household also as strictly as he can, contrary to the order which in this respect had been, the year preceding, settled and decided by the said Queen of England and those of her council; so that, if this restriction continues, it will be the means of making my servants more weary of this prison, and thereby rendering it altogether insupportable to them. I have heard a report, but uncertain, that my said keeper is to be discharged at the end of this summer, and some suppose that I am to be delivered to the Earl of Shrews-

bury, which I can with very great difficulty bring myself to believe. He speaks also of removing from me all the English servants which I have in my household. But I dare not take notice of any thing, until my said keeper gives me a hint of it, or that yourself, if you discover there that such things are intended, inform me of it by the ordinary way. In truth I shall not be sorry to change my host, for he is one of the most whimsical and austere persons whom I have ever known; and, in a word, fitter for a jail of criminals than for the custody of one of my rank and birth; besides that, in the event of the death of the Queen of England, I should think my life very insecure in his hands, from his little rank, credit, influence, and power, and especially in this quarter where he makes himself exceedingly hated and ill-liked. There would be no harm in your speaking of it to my Lord Burghley; but it should be only by way of conversation and from yourself, on the authority and statements of some of my friends in this kingdom, without giving him any room or ground of suspicion that the wind blows from this quarter. I should like to know the true cause of the journey of the Earl of Shrewsbury there, and if he is to remain with the Queen of England or return to the country.

You will do me a particular favour by giving me a copy of the last treaty* between this country and Scotland, if you can procure it. You will receive with this a small packet, to be forwarded by the first safe opportunity which you have, to Courcelles, arranging with him, if you please, by whom he can henceforward send to me all despatches from that quarter.

Continue, I beseech you, always to reward this footman with what you think proper, as often as he carries letters to you from me, and employ him on my account.

Chartley, this 13th July.

The packet here inclosed, marked X, is for Morgan, and the other, without mark, for Courcelles. I beg you will forward them.

---

* The treaty of alliance of 5th July 1586.

To Monsieur de Chateauneuf.

[*Cotemporary Decipher.—State Paper Office, London, Mary Queen of Scots,* vol. xviii.]

Without date [July, 1586].

Mr. Ambassador,—In consequence of the receipt of your last, of the 20th June, which came to my hands on the 10th of this month only, and the small satisfaction which otherwise I receive in all that concerns my condition here, I am constrained once for all to represent by you to the Queen of England, my good sister, my very strong complaints in this respect, seeing that the more passively I have endured all this time, to give proof to the said queen of the determination which I had of complying in all and by all with her, so much the more they reduce me step by step to the utmost distress, without any regard to my rank, and merited consideration of the infirm and pitiful condition to which eighteen years of imprisonment have brought me, or recollection of the promises which the said queen has made to me to the contrary; so that it appears that my enemies who, in expectation of my death being at hand in my sickness, had, last summer, slightly relaxed their rage against me, wish to retrace their former steps, to hasten by evil and unworthy treatment that which they do not wish or are unable to execute otherwise, lest they make themselves openly culpable.

I have constantly, during the space of four years, courted the said Queen of England by all the most advantageous overtures, and endeavours, and correspondence, to come to the point of some good agreement with her, and, for this, having at last sent to her my secretary, in a manner with a *carte-blanche,* I made such offers to her, that herself and those of her council wrote to me they could desire nothing more on my part, and, in sooth, there never was seen nor heard of a sovereign prince, imprisoned rightfully or wrongfully, who has redeemed his liberty on conditions so unreasonable for himself. Not only has there been nothing farther done with regard to my said propositions for the treaty of my liberation, as I had been assured of it, but almost nothing of that which had been in the mean time promised has been performed to me.

For instead of the mission of certain of my servants to my son, which had been granted to me in order to make an end with him of the hindrance which they alleged he made to the said treaty, and which they said prevented the said queen from going farther in it, I have been shut up entirely out of the way and separated from him, in order the better to reunite him to our common enemies here, and to expose or subject him to his rebellious subjects.

For my safety in this bondage, there is nobody of judgment who does not consider it less at present than in the hands of one of the peers and lords of this kingdom, of reputation, force, and power sufficient to preserve me against the attempts of my enemies whatever may happen; which has always been my principal desire since they have removed me from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury; and, in that, I do not mean to do wrong to my present keeper, whom in other respects I consider a very honourable gentleman and very faithful servant of his mistress.

With regard to my condition and treatment here, which the said Queen had expressly written to me she wished to appoint in all things very honourably, as far as to disclaim that of the past, I must say, in a word, that I find myself at the present time rather confined in a gaol than in a prince's captivity, much below me, or whom they could by right of war, or otherwise, justly detain. I am interdicted from all private correspondence with my son; to whose welfare and preservation, as I feel myself obliged to have regard, so much the more I have of sorrow and torture in being unable to render him this maternal duty, in the strait and necessity wherein he very often is. Of my other relatives and friends in Christendom, no one would dare to write to me anything in it, especially what could bring me any consolation, if he did not wish by this means to stop the passage to his letters.

As to my private affairs, you are aware of the severity exercised to Chartly when he came to give me an account of them, so that his journey to me in that respect almost amounted to nothing. My servants' despatches are delivered to me with so much delay, and mine to them, that the oppor-

tunities usually slip away before I can make use of them, the necessity nevertheless for it being such, as you can see from their writing of it to me daily, that I am put, as they say, to my last shift; the place in which I am is made so detestable by the severity which is exercised to all who approach to it, even for the ordinary conveniences necessary for me and my servants, and I am so seldom permitted to do good to any poor person in my neighbourhood, the distribution of my alms having been removed from me this year, that it is too apparent how much they endeavour to make me be reputed and held as some savage and complete stranger, and as . . . . those not only who should have some lawful respect to me, but whoever will have any thing to do with me and my servants, as dependant on the common human society.

I have not until now had so much need of having a fixed residence, in which I might settle myself with the conveniences requisite for my health, being but as one passing from inn to inn. In like manner the expenditure of my household remains, from what I hear, so uncertain, that I cannot in any way check it, being always dependant on the good will of the person who shall have charge of me for retrenching and disposing of it as he shall think fit; which past experience induces me to mention to you, that I may not fall into the misery in which I find myself, having wearied and displeased my servants more than any other inconvenience of my imprisonment. For the new servants whom it had pleased the said queen to supply from her own kitchen, they are now uncertain to me, and I cannot supply the place of those whom I have dismissed in hope of having others for them, which has not been, and is not, I assure you, without very great injury to my health. The freedom promised for my exercise, with some recreations, has not been preserved to me, being now prohibited from going out on festival days, without considering that in consequence of my ailments, and that the time does not always suit, especially winter, I must take it when I can. Different other encroachments have been made, which I cannot construe but to restriction and deterioration of my former state, instead of having it amended, as they pro-

mised to me; it serving no purpose to say that the time has not been suitable for it owing to the disorders which have happened in Christendom, as they have always replied to me, except that they wish more plainly to say that they cannot find the time suitable for doing me a good act, for it is unreasonable to make me suffer for that of which I am not the cause, and, perchance, the treaty between the said queen and me had by it prevented a part. I have not for all that desisted, though now not bound by my said offers, since they had not been accepted or the mutual conditions performed, from endeavouring as far as I have been able rigidly to observe and cause to be observed by my servants and friends, to whom it has been allowed me to write of it, what I had proposed to the said queen for her entire contentment and satisfaction, hoping that such evidence of my sincerity, destroying in her the impressions which they had given her to the contrary, would revive towards me her good disposition, and would procure for me the satisfaction of passing the little of life that remains to me in the close friendship which I have always so much desired with her. But alas! I greatly fear that the evil has gone so far as to be irremediable, however I may endeavour to place, I dare very truly say, the good against the evil, my enemies being unable to content them with this my so long suffering and imprisonment, or that in it I may never have any peace of mind or of body. And to speak still more freely to you, necessity making me therein to my great regret overcome shame, I begin to be very ill attended to in my own person, and with no regard to my infirm state, which deprives me in a manner mostly of all appetite. For which, if they had been inclined to allow me to supply it at my own cost, I should not have made entreaty. Wherefore, Mr. Ambassador, being more than ever entirely hopeless of better treatment, and of securing my condition and rest here for the future, I have resolved to renew more urgently than ever the request which I have made all these years past to the said queen for my liberation, conjuring her in God's name, and in as far as her conscience towards herself and honour before the world are dear to her,

to see to it speedily. And I entreat you very earnestly to interpose thereto, as far as you can, the weight and intercession of the king your [master], my brother-in-law, as the mediator always proposed by me in that matter. Besides the above considerations, there is one very important, namely, that the physicians are of opinion that there are no means left for preserving my life by strengthening my nerves, from the weakness of which, by want of exercise, all my maladies proceed, but by some natural very warm baths of Italy; which being impossible to be had in this country, it seems to me that the said queen, in the imminent danger in which she cannot be ignorant that I am, ought to feel herself responsible for the evil consequence which may arise from it, in refusing me this last and only remedy. Now as far as it is not determined so speedily for my liberation, I beseech her in the meanwhile to cause my above remonstrances be seen to, and especially . . . .

To Pope Sixtus V.

[*Autograph.—Secret Archives of the Vatican at Rome.*]

From Fotheringay, the 23d November, 1586.

Jesus Maria.

✠

Holy Father,—As so it is that it has pleased God by his divine providence, to make an order in his Church, by which he has willed that, under his son Jesus Christ crucified, all those who should believe in him, and might be baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity, should acknowledge one universal and Catholic Church for a Mother, the commandments of which, under pain of damnation, we ought to keep with the ten of the law, it is necessary that every one aspiring to life eternal should have there his eye fixed. Now I being born of kings and ancestors all baptised in it, as I myself also, and what is more, from the breast, unworthy as I am, being called to the royal dignity, anointed and consecrated by its authority and ministers, under the wings and in the bosom of which being nurtured and educated, and by it been instructed

in the obedience due by all Christians to him whom she, guided by the Holy Ghost, has elected according to the ancient decrees and order of the primitive Church to the Holy Apostolic See, as our chief on earth, to whom Jesus Christ in his last testament has given power, speaking to St. Peter of its foundation, of the living stone, of binding and loosing from the bonds of Satan poor sinners, absolving us, by him or his ministers thereto commissioned, from all crimes and sins by us committed and perpetrated, we being penitent, and, in as far as is in us, making satisfaction for them, after being confessed according to the ordinance of the Church; I call to witness my Saviour Jesus Christ, the blessed Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, all the angels and archangels, St. Peter the Shepherd, my particular intercessor and special advocate, St. Paul the apostle of the Gentiles, St. Andrew and all the holy apostles, St. George, and in general all the saints of paradise, that I have always lived in this faith, which is that of the Universal, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, in which being regenerated I have always intended to do my duty to the Holy Apostolic See. Of which, to my great regret, I have been unable to give due testimony to your Holiness, in consequence of my detention in this captivity, together with my long illness; but now that it has pleased God, most holy Father, to permit for my sins and those of this unfortunate island that I (the only remaining one of the blood of England and Scotland making profession of that faith) should be, after twenty years of captivity, shut up in a close prison, and at last condemned to die by the government and heretical parliament of this country, as it has been signified to me to-day* by the mouth of Lord Buckhurst, Amias Paulet, my keeper, one Sir Drew Drury, and a secretary named Beale, in name of their queen,

---

* To-day,—that is to say, Saturday, 19th November. (See the Letter to Don Bernard de Mendoça, "Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart," tom. vi. p. 457.) It follows from that, that this letter to the Pope, commenced by her Majesty on the day in which her sentence was notified to her, was not finished and dated till four days thereafter.

commanding me to prepare to receive death, offering me one of their bishops and a dean for my consolation,—a priest whom I had having been by them long ago taken from me and kept I know not where in their hands,—I have considered my first duty to be to turn myself to God, and then with my hand to signify all to your Holiness, that, although I cannot make you hear it before my death, at least, after it, the cause of it may be manifest to you; which is, the whole well sifted and considered, for the subversion of their religion in this island alleged by them to be by me designed and in my favour attempted, both by their own subjects obedient to your laws, their declared enemies, and by strangers, in particular the Catholic princes and my relations, who all (as they charge them) maintain my right to the crown of England, causing me to be named as such in their prayers in the churches, and the ministers of that of this nation professing subjection and duty to me. I leave to your Holiness to consider the consequence of this opinion, supplicating you to cause prayers to be offered for my poor soul, [and] of all those who have died or shall die for the same and the like opinion; and also, in honour of God, to distribute of your alms, and instigate the kings to do the same, to those who shall remain alive from this shipwreck. And my intention being, according to the constitutions of the Church, to confess, to do penance, so far as is in me, and receive my viaticum, if I can obtain my chaplain or other lawful minister to administer to me my said sacraments, as in default of this, with a contrite and penitent heart, I prostrate myself at the feet of your Holiness, confessing myself to God and to his saints, and to your fatherly goodness, a most unworthy sinner, and deserving of eternal damnation, if it pleases not the good God, who died for sinners, to receive me by his infinite mercy to the number of poor sinners penitent by his mercy. Entreating you to accept this my general submission, as a testimony of my intention to fulfil the rest in the form ordained and commanded by the Church, if it is allowed me, and to give me your general absolution, according as you know and consider it to be requisite for the glory of God, the honour of his Church, and the salvation of

my poor soul, between which and the justice of God I interpose the blood of Jesus Christ, crucified for me and all sinners, one of the most execrable of which I confess myself to be, seeing the infinite graces through him received, by me ill-acknowledged and employed, which make me unworthy of pardon, if his promise, made to all those who laden with sins and spiritual sorrows [come to him], to be by him relieved, and his mercy did not embolden me, according to his commandment, to come to him, bearing my burden, to be by him exonerated, after the example of the prodigal child; and who, moreover, is offering my blood willingly at the foot of his cross for the maintenance and faithful zeal which I bear to his Church, without the restoration of which I never desire to live in this wicked world. Furthermore, holy father, no means being left to me in this world, I entreat your Holiness to impetrate from the most Christian king that my jointure may be charged with the payment of my debts and the wages of my poor desolate servants, and with an annual obit for my soul, and those of all our brethren deceased in this just quarrel; having had no other private intention, as my poor servants, present at this my affliction, will testify to you, and how I have willingly offered my life in their heretical assembly to maintain my religion Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, and bring back the devout of this island, even themselves; protesting in this case that I would willingly demit all title and dignity of queen, and do all service and duty to theirs, if she would cease to persecute the Catholics, as I protest that this is the object at which I have aimed since I have been in this country, and have no ambition or desire to reign or to dispossess others for my own sake, being by sickness and long affliction so weakened that I have no more desire to trouble myself in this world than with the service of his Church, and the gaining of the souls of this island to God; for evidence of which at my end I would not fail to prefer the public safety to the private interest of flesh and blood, which makes me beseech you, with a mortal regret for the perdition of my poor child, after having by all means endeavoured to retrieve him, being to him a true father, as St.

John the Evangelist was to the youth whom he recalled from the company of the robbers, to take at last all the authority over him which I can give you to constrain him, and, if you please, to call upon the Catholic king to assist you in what relates to temporal matters, and especially together to endeavour to unite him by marriage; and, if God for my sins permits him to be obstinate, knowing no Christian prince at this time who exerts himself so much for the faith, nor possesses such means of assisting in the reduction of this island as the Catholic king, to whom I am much indebted and obliged, he being the only one who has assisted me with his money and advice in my necessities, under your good pleasure, I leave him all the right or interest which I can have in the government of this kingdom, should my son remain obstinately out of the Church; whom, if he can be brought back, I desire to be by him and my kinsman of Guise, assisted, supported, and advised, enjoining him by my last will to consider them, after you, as fathers, and to ally himself by their advice and consent, or with one of their two houses, and, if it should please God, I wish him worthy to be a son of the Catholic king. Such is the secret of my heart, and the end of my worldly wishes; tending, as I mean, to the good of His Church, and the discharge of my conscience, which I lay at the feet of your Holiness, kissing them very humbly.

You shall have the true recital of the manner of my last struggle and all the proceedings against me and by me, so that, knowing the truth, the calumnies which the enemies of the Church would fasten on me may be by you refuted, and the truth known; and, for this purpose, I have sent to you this messenger, desiring for the end your holy benediction, and bidding you the last *à Dieu*, whom I pray to long preserve you in his grace, for the good of his Church and of your desolate flock, especially that of this island, which I leave very far strayed without the mercy of God and your paternal care.

From Fotheringay, this 23rd of November, 1586.

Excuse my writing, on account of the weakness of my

arm. I hear, to my great regret, evil reports of some persons near your Holiness, who are said to receive wages from this government to betray the cause of God; and there are cardinals implicated with them. I leave it to your Holiness to institute an inquiry into this, and to have an eye upon a certain Lord St. John,* who is very much suspected of being a spy of the High Treasurer.† There are false brethren, and I can answer for it that all those who have been recommended to you by me are quite otherwise.

From your Holiness's very humble and devoted daughter,

MARIE,

Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France.

To QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Autograph.—State Paper Office, London; Scotch Royal Letters.*]

[May, 1566.]

I cannot, my good sister, but praise my good luck, which has not suffered me to receive more sorrow than she has given me strength and fortitude to bear; on the contrary, she has mingled so intimately the good with the evil, that cause has rather been given to me by the receipt of your letters, written in your autograph, to thank God for your recovery, than leisure to bewail your indisposition, which I do with all my heart, and especially since I have learned the great danger in which you have been, and how you have got so easily quit of it that your good looks will suffer nothing in their integrity by it.‡ Randolph§ has requested me to send

---

* John, second Lord St. John, of Bletshoe, one of the peers who sat on the trial of her Majesty, as his father did on that of the Duke of Norfolk, died 23rd October 1596.

† Lord Burleigh.

‡ The contents of this letter show that Queen Elizabeth had the small-pox, and that Mary had had it in France, during the life of Henry II, as Fernel (see subsequent note) was physician to that monarch. This circumstance is extremely important, for it explains how Mary could remain without any risk beside Darnley, when he was seized with that malady, whilst she dared not expose to it the young prince her son. (See *Recueil*, tom. ii. p. 1.)

§ The English ambassador.

you some recipe for preventing its appearance, which I cannot do as I should wish, for the person who attended me is dead, and he was called Fernel,* his majesty's chief physician, and he would never tell me the recipe of the lotion which he applied to my face after having punctured it all with a lancet, and then it would be too late to use that which they made for me after; you will see it in this memorial, being extremely sorry that I did not know it sooner, for I should have sent to the person whom I consider the most eminent for that purpose, who was with me,† assuring you that I shall never know anything which can be of service to you without using it, as a good sister ought to do, as long as I shall find my love returned with similar affection, of which I make no doubt, confiding in your promises and constancy of heart which you have given me in exchange for mine, which I think so well bestowed. And on this point, not to trouble you with too long a discourse, I shall conclude, after informing you by the same conveyance of the pacification of the disturbances which for some time have annoyed me, more from compassion for those whom God has so far forsaken, than from the fear of falling into their danger, from the reliance which I had on my subjects, who shewed themselves to be such as I could have wished them; and I hope they will be the better for this marked manifestation of the wrath of God, which has fallen upon the evil-doers. I make no doubt that Randolph will have so fully informed you of all, that I shall have no need to trouble you with a longer letter

* John Fernel, born at Montdidier, in the diocese of Amiens, was first physician to Henry II, at whose court he is said to have advanced himself by discovering a secret to make the queen, Catherine of Médicis, fruitful. Be that as it may, he was a very great favourite of her Majesty, and received many valuable marks of her esteem. He died, in consequence of grief for the loss of his wife, 26th April 1558, aged fifty-two ; and was interred in the church of St. Jaques de la Boucherie of Paris, at the expense of his son-in-law, Philibert Barjot, master of requests, and president of the council. He was the author of several works of merit connected with his profession.

† Lusgérie, who had been her first physician, when she became Queen of France.

at present, except to kiss your fair hands, and pray to God that He may give you, madam my good sister, in health a very happy and long life, and the prosperity which you desire.

Your ever faithful and affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

Addressed,—To Madam my good sister the Queen of England.

Endorsed:—May 1566. The Q. of Scotts to ye Q. Ma^{ty}. By De Malvisier.*

MEMORIAL ADDRESSED BY QUEEN MARY TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

[*Cotemporary Translation*.†—*Royal Library, Paris; MSS. Harlay*, No. 218.]

8th February, 1570-71.

I have received several dispatches these few days past, containing different letters and memorials, with which, both from their prolixity and length, and in order to spare the trouble and irksomeness of deciphering them, I have not wished to annoy you at present; but only I have remarked some of them, adding thereto my opinion, which I send to you to ascertain the good advice and counsel of the said Duke of Norfolk.

The treaty which is on foot between the Queen of England and me, seems agreeable to the queen-mother of the King of France, from exterior demonstrations. Which, being well considered, proceeds rather from their endeavour to excuse and exempt themselves from the assistance which I have demanded from them, than from any good-will that they may have that it should take effect; unless it is, perchance, to

---

* M. de Mauvissière, who had come from Scotland on his return to France.

† The original decipher of this document in English is printed in the *Recueil* (tom. iii. p. 180); but, as it is defective in many places, recourse must be had to the French translation for supplying the *lacunæ*.

interrupt the course of the intrigues and secret communications which I have in this country, for fear that the affairs of my ambassador do not advance too much. The proposal of marriage between the Queen of England and Monsieur,* to which the council of France lends an ear, in nothing serves for my advantage; for, by these means, the Queen of England will divert all the forces, means, and assistance, which I might otherwise expect from France; and the jealousy of what is proposed touching the league in the said agreement, is the reason why they flatter and court the Queen of England, spinning out with her the overture of the marriage [with the duke] although they have not any hope of it.

Also the King of France approves of the marriage between me and the Duke of Norfolk, and to that they ascribe the extreme jealousy which they have of Don John of Austria; and I am well informed that, if they thought that I was fully determined to take such a step, they would embrace [the cause of] my rebels [against me]. And so, in case that they should see hereafter matters in such train that there should be no more hope with the said Don John, they would not fail to prevent, so far as they could, the marriage between the said duke and me; which they seem so much to wish at present.

The Duke of Alva has openly declared that he is of this opinion, that, in case the said treaty should be carried through, it would be to my ruin; whereupon it may be surmised that, perhaps, he would wish the differences between the King of Spain his master and the Queen of England to be settled in the first instance; but it appears to me that it is not the main cause which induces him to wish the said treaty, but the delivery [of the person] of my son into the hands of the Queen of England, and to risk myself by returning into those of my [cruel] rebels, supported and assisted by the said queen in all their wickedness and mischief, who have taken from him the hope of restoring the Catholic religion, which is the only security of his master's kingdom [especially] in the Low Countries.

---

* The Duke of Anjou.

All the advice which comes from beyond the sea tends to this end, to persuade me to seek means of escaping from this country. And, for the place of my retreat, they do not approve of my entering Scotland without troops, for, shutting myself up in any fortress, I should be in danger of remaining there without any assistance; while my rebels would continue their usurped authority, and I might fall into the same difficulties which I have heretofore sustained, before I was succoured, and the place, by famine or otherwise, might be surrendered. In keeping the field by the favour of my good and loyal subjects, I should be forced to sustain a battle, the issue of which is uncertain, and might be hazardous for me; for, besides that they might fear some treason, my rebels have in the country such assistance so ready at command, that their party might be the strongest before I could be assisted by the other foreign troops. To retire to France, although I have there friends and revenues, the position which I hold, and the condition to which I am reduced, and also that in which the affairs of France are at present, dissuade me from it. For to think of obtaining assistance to carry me back and reinstate me in my kingdom, the affairs which the king [of France] has in his own country, and the prospect of change and new attachments, do not permit me to hope for anything good, even if the said king were willing to aid me; and, in the meanwhile, the umbrage which the King of Spain would conceive, in seeing me take this part, would be a cause for alienating him from me, and thus I should remain deserted on all sides.

There remains, then, Spain, in which I might save myself and have assistance from the king; a prince extremely compassionate, whose dominions are flourishing and in peace, from which one might derive many good means. With regard to Flanders, the negotiation would not be so well managed in my absence as by my personal presence. And, therefore, they are of opinion that I should go direct to Spain, where I could see the king personally, treat and negotiate with him, and obtain, promptly and without any delay, that which I could not for a long time do by messengers and

ambassadors; and as they allege that the good conscience and integrity of the said king might be a sufficient guarantee for the safety of my person, and of all which I shall grant to him, there is no reason to fear that he would desire to usurp anything in my dominions, and, to speak as I should truly, I have much more expectation of being assisted on this side than on any other. Wherefore, be that as it may, it appears to me necessary that we should follow up this plan; and, therefore, I am of opinion to send some man of repute to the King of Spain, whom he might trust, to inform him of the state of my kingdom, and of that also of my friends whom I have here, [and of] their determinations and means which they have of setting to work, if the said King of Spain is willing to embrace their cause and mine.

The late Queen of Spain, shortly before her death, sent me a very kind letter, which, as I believe, did not come without the consent and good pleasure of the king her husband, by which she proposed the marriage of my son with one of her daughters; and, further, that her said husband desired very anxiously to have my son in his hands to make him be educated and brought up in the Catholic religion. Also, on many hands I have been beset for the marriage with Don John of Austria, to which I think that the King of Spain would readily wish that I should consent.

As to my son, it seems good to me, both for his safety and mine, that he should be for the space of some years in Spain, out of the dangers and perils which might happen during his infancy in this island. His absence would put a stop to the said troubles, because that my rebels would find themselves deprived of the cover and pretence which they have of his name. And, for the marriage of the said Don John of Austria, although that I have resolved to have nothing to do with it, yet the King of Spain would not cease to aid me and embrace my cause, provided that he were certain that it were united to the Catholic religion, and that he with whom I should marry were willing to hold this same cause. And, although the said King of Spain should not have any will to it, yet

he would be induced by the Pope to put his hand to the said cause, and for his sake to make use of his own means.

I think that Ridolfi could acquit himself of this commission secretly better than any person whom I know, and this under pretext of his business; and, being known as he is, the King of Spain and the Pope would lend him an ear, and give credit to all that he proposed. And also, by the means of the correspondence and memoirs which he will have of the state of this country and my kingdom, added to the instructions which he will receive from the Duke of Norfolk, he can easily reply to all the objections which will be made to him. He has sent me a memorial, in which he describes the persons who appear to him to be suitable for this business, without [considering it necessary to] nominate any one. And, for my part, I know not whom to choose from it but himself. The fear which they have imagined beyond sea that the Duke of Norfolk will always remain a Protestant, retards and hinders all his plans, and keeps them in suspense; and causes my servants, who are thought to favour his designs, to be so suspected, that they do not wish to have any information of what shall be contrived. To remove this suspicion entirely, and settle the whole to the satisfaction of the said King of Spain and the Pope, I see no other means for it but to assure them of the said Duke of Norfolk; for this is the difficulty of the case, and which it is necessary to solve, otherwise we may expect no assistance from them, but, on the contrary, all the crossings and obstacles which they can effect by means of the Catholics of this country, in whom consists all the hope which I have for promoting this said marriage, which many dread on account of the said religion.

This negotiation ought to be kept very private, and that Ridolfi should take good care to make no appearance of the above in France, or even that he meddles in my affairs; for the jealousy which exists between the Kings of France and Spain would be the cause of their leaving no stone unturned to hinder and break off all; and, moreover, further advance the marriage of the Queen of England and Monsieur of

Anjou, if the thing is to be, or that any result can proceed from it.

The season requires diligence and speed; and therefore, if the said journey seems good to the Duke of Norfolk, my opinion is, that it should be sooner than later, and that no more time should be lost. But I leave the whole to the discretion of the said Duke of Norfolk, to prepare and cause him to set out when he shall think it proper.

On the margin:—Translated from the English language into French, in April 1573.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSED ON BEHALF OF QUEEN MARY TO ALL THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES.

[*Cotemporary Translation.**—*Archives of the Medicis, at Florence.*]

[From Carlisle, in June 1568.]

EVENTS OF THE QUEEN AND KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND.

Every person of sound intellect, and who without particular bias wishes to consider the truth, knows very clearly that the actions of the Earl of Murray, from the time that he was simple Prior of St. Andrews,—he began to weave the the troubles which happened in Scotland shortly before the Queen-regent of Scotland of pious memory died,—until now, have been directed to no other end than to usurp the authority and government of the kingdom, whatsoever hypocrisy or simulation he may have used to colour his design; and he who should wish to narrate all the evil deeds which he and his adherents have committed in this business, would have to make a large volume; but to narrate briefly the latest and newest, wherein is cruelty united with fraud and unheard of malice, he should here touch on one which relates to a deed under the shadow of which they have falsely accused their queen, and sought with the same pretext to deprive her of the crown.

The Earl of Murray in less than eight months having thrice

---

* This memorial was sent to Cosmo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, by the Commander Petrucci, his ambassador in France.

attempted the design which he has finally accomplished, namely to make himself master of the person of the queen; and in all these three times having failed in his design, threw himself at the feet of her majesty, who thrice pardoned him, and forgave him his fault, as she loved him because he was considered her bastard brother, and had honoured him and conferred on him the earldom of Murray and other great benefits; he then, perceiving that by force alone he could not accomplish his design, because the people were always for her majesty, notwithstanding that privately since her return to Scotland he had done everything in his power, by means of the heretic clergy, to make her obnoxious, as in their sermons they publicly called her an idolatress; with those of his faction fell upon a plan the most disloyal which can be imagined to injure her majesty's honour, and not only to turn aside the people from their affection, but to subject her to their hatred and make them her enemies; and this was, to cause the death of her majesty's husband in such an unwonted manner that they might in time throw the guilt upon her. The queen, having no idea of this treason which they conspired both against her person and her reputation, gave them express charge to make inquiry into the crime and make all search for the guilty: in which it falls not to be wondered at the little diligence they used, and how they protected themselves, both as persons who knew not what to say and pretended not to know it, when they were in the council of her majesty assembled for that purpose. They knew well, that were her majesty long at liberty she would have them discovered and would be revenged on them, and would have inflicted upon them the due punishment of this and their other iniquities; and therefore, pretending a new friendship with the Earl of Bothwell, whom they hated to death, they pretended to be content that he should be the husband of the queen, and produced a writing, subscribed by them, declaring that this would be for the greatest advantage to the kingdom; and with this they persuaded him to seize upon the person of her majesty, and make himself protector. Therefore, one day that the queen went in a measure unattended

to see her son, he assailed her in the street with many of his retainers, and with fine words and with representations that her majesty was in most eminent danger, conducted her to one of his castles; which being seen by some, on a sudden, under colour of wishing to defend her and liberate her from the tyranny of the said earl, they took arms, and drew to their side some of the too credulous, thinking that this was for the service of her majesty, as they have since declared, seeing the end of the enterprise; and thus, believing with a few troops they might match with the said earl, they went to seek her at the house of my Lord Borthwick, from which she, dreading their violence, was forced to save herself near Dunbar. In the meanwhile, they increased their forces by saying that it was to rescue her majesty from the hands and tyranny of the said earl; which her majesty seeing, and not being safe to place herself in their hands until, not having well understood what they demanded, she called some of her subjects and went to the field, sent to speak with some of their nobles and they to her, and, after long parley, declaring that they sought no other thing than the liberty of her majesty, they promised, if she placed herself in their hands, to make their troops withdraw, and they should carry her with them as their lawful sovereign, not desiring other than to serve and honour her. On which promises and words her majesty caused her people to retire, being unwilling to see the blood of her subjects flow, and so placed herself in their hands; but no sooner was this done, than, contrary to the pledge given, and contrary to the duty of subjects, and contrary to the promise which they had made, they put her in a very close prison in the middle of a lake, whence nobody, that either wished her well or that desired equity or justice, could go, without leaving her one of her lords, alleging, to mislead the people, that she was guilty of the death of her husband, and forthwith they took possession of the castles, houses, artillery, munitions, gold, silver, jewels, moveables, vases, vestments, and everything belonging to her majesty, turning all to their private advantage, and the establishment of their tyrannical usurpation; under cover of which they caused

to be crowned the prince, the queen's son, declaring him to be king, who in age had scarcely completed one year, and assigned to him for his governor the Earl of Murray, their head and protector, limiting the period of his government to seventeen years, which is as much as to say for all his life and that of his posterity, were that possible. By which act they openly came to declare the queen innocent of the crime for which they said to have imprisoned her; because if she had committed the treason, as they rashly allege, of the death of her husband, in what manner could they make her son king? and by what manner could he succeed? since the kingdom could not pertain to him, except by reason of the law and not of the father, who in such case would not be recognized except as a foreigner and a native Englishman, or, indeed, as a subject, from her majesty having restored his father to the earldom of Lennox. They are too crafty and cautious to be mistaken in this, nor must it be believed that they know not well what they do; but this is to beguile the people for some time, and, after that they have deposed the queen, they will also drive out the son by alleging the crime of the mother: and then they will openly disclose what they now seek to keep concealed. Matters being gone through in this manner, they did not consider themselves as yet sufficiently sure of this administration, from not having the consent of the queen; and, therefore, they threatened her with death, if she did not approve with her subscription the act made by them of the coronation of the son, and of the election of the Earl of Murray to the government of the kingdom. Therefore, her majesty, finding herself a prisoner, and being surely apprised that by refusing it they would put her to death, was constrained, in order to save her life, to subscribe what they wished; but taking thereto as witnesses George Douglas and Robert Melvil, as commanded by her majesty to this effect, that the subscription which she made was forced and against her will, and for that reason of none avail.

The Earl of Murray at that time was still in France, whither he had gone until the conspiracy devised by his accomplices should be executed; and the motive of his journey

was for two reasons, the one to throw every suspicion on her majesty, to the end that, having no fear of him, she might fall more easily into the hands of his troops; the other to make the people believe that the cruelty which they used towards the queen did not proceed from him, and that he accepted the government solely for the public good, because he well knew that in absence this charge would be given to him, and the better to palliate this deed. At his return, which was immediately after the execution of the design, he affected to make some difficulty in taking the office until that he was in the presence of the queen, to have (as he said) the free consent of her majesty from her own lips, and therefore he went to see her in the castle of Lochleven, where she was imprisoned; but he, knowing that her majesty sought to persuade him not to accept of the government, and that she had still some confidence in him, believing that he would show himself towards her as he ought, from being esteemed and reputed her bastard brother, pulled off the mask by replying that he had already accepted the charge, and that it was no longer time to excuse himself. Now it may be seen by this second action how they themselves declare the queen innocent of the crime laid to her charge; because, if she had committed the treason of which they impudently accuse her, what was the worth of the subscription which they had caused her to make? And, in having, as they had, adjudged her majesty innocent, there was no need of their thinking to authorize their proceedings with the subscription, since it had been done by force, against her will, and for fear of death. Further, in the pretended assembly of the states, where the greater part of the nobility that were not mixed up with their actions did not deign to appear, there were found some few who publicly protested the nullity of all which they did in prejudice of the Catholic religion and of the queen; some fearing for their lives, and others in consequence of the above-mentioned subscription of her majesty, subscribed it, declaring, however, that if thereafter it should be found that this was contrary to the will of the queen, it should be of none avail; although many that were not their adherents were importunate, and

demanded that her majesty should be conducted there, to the end that she might freely speak in the presence of her subjects; and likewise that she should be urgently besought with all speed to make investigation of the crime which was imputed to her, and that it ought not to be permitted that she should be accused in a public assembly if she were not allowed to defend her cause, or wished other advocate than herself, they would not consent to it. It is very true that the Earls of Atholl and Tullibardine, two of the leaders of the design, to whom her majesty found means to send some one for this purpose, replied that they would not be disinclined themselves, but that the others would never permit it; and thus her majesty could not obtain favour from her cruel rebels that her defence might be heard, a circumstance which openly showed their calumny and malice, because they could not allege any excuse that availed them. Thus, seeing themselves the patrons of everything, nor anything more awanting that they could fear, they established their pretended authority, as also their religion, and prohibited the ancient Roman Catholic, under pain of death; and for the rest have done as they wished, without other contradiction than the protest aforesaid. To conclude, this fine assembly, to continue to pretend their innocence to the people, made a show of searching diligently and prosecuting the murderers of her majesty's husband, which, if it had been done as agreed, would have been begun by many of them, as by their own hand-writing could be verified: but knowing it well among them, and favouring both, they were unwilling to go so far, and caused to be hanged some poor people, to the number of five or six, who, notwithstanding anything which these wicked impostors might have done to suborn them, in going to death acquitted the queen of the aforesaid sin, and accused the accomplices of the said Earl of Murray, persisting in this declaration even to death, without ever in any way changing or varying it, of which all the kingdom of Scotland is a witness, a circumstance which has entirely placed the innocence of her majesty beyond any doubt;* and

---

* It is very important to remember that this memoir was pub-

yet for all that she has been detained almost a year in prison, with such treatment as God knows.

At this time they very often intended to put her to death, and they would have done so had they not been afraid of so far letting the world know their treachery and their malice, and of raising against them the people, who daily began to be sensible of their fraud and hypocrisy. Then, not having courage to attempt this last excess, they have often attempted to make her majesty forsake the Catholic religion and embrace their own, promising and assuring her that she should be restored to her rights; which her majesty has always denied and refused to do, saying explicitly that she would sooner, together with her liberty and crown, lose her life, than fail in one iota of her religion, in which consisted her soul's safety. They had intended to hold another parliament in the month of June [15]68, summoning to it all the nobility of the kingdom, to procure which was committed to the Earl of Murray and his accomplices, to judge of this calumny alleged by them against the queen, a thing truly reasonable, as all the world may know that he and his would be judges and parties against her majesty! but God, by his goodness and mercy, has destroyed this their wicked design, permitting that in the midst of it her majesty should get out of prison, and in a miraculous manner escape from their cruel hands, in which she knows that God willed that she should receive this chastisement for the too great clemency which she had used in remitting and pardoning too often the disloyalty and treasons committed by them.

Since the release of her majesty, a great part of the nobility who had not sided with her enemies, and likewise some of those who had, but seeing their evil behaviour had left them, withdrew with her; whereby their number was greater than that of the rebels, because with them were not more than eight or nine persons of repute. Nevertheless, her majesty,

---

lished shortly after the execution of these unfortunate persons, and that it was in every person's power to assure himself of the truth of the matter in Scotland.

not desiring the blood of any of her subjects, sent to the said rebels a knight of the order of the most Christian king, who had been sent by his most Christian majesty into Scotland to procure the release of the queen,* and caused him to say to them that if they would abandon their proceedings, and acknowledge her as their princess, by restoring to her her wonted authority, that, for her part, she would truly forget everything past, and remit and pardon them; to which they obstinately refused to accede, saying that they would recognize no other authority than that which had been instituted by their parliament, and approved by the subscription of the queen; showing themselves determined in their resolution to hold fast to this, notwithstanding that it was already notorious to all, that as a thing done perforce and through fear, her majesty had by public proclamation revoked it. Which offer being refused, and her majesty seeing that there was no chance of agreement, resolved to retire within the castle of Dumbarton, to keep herself in safety, in order that without effusion of blood (if it were possible) she might have her kingdom reunited; but while on the way, there being a river between her and her rebels, they coasted along it with a great number of musketeers, besides many other soldiers, who attacked those of her majesty, who were but few, and, having killed several, compelled her to change her purpose and take another road. And, seeing that she could not gain any secure place in her kingdom, her majesty resolved, by the advice of her council, to go into England, as its queen had many times promised to assist her; and hoped that she would do it, as well for the relationship which is between their majesties as because the said Queen of Scotland was so unjustly and ill treated by her rebellious subjects. The example of which not only concerned the Queen of England, but all other sovereigns likewise.

The queen having thus retired into England, the rebellious subjects and usurpers of her authority, persisting more and more in their perverse and disloyal design, have formed an

* M. de Beaumont.

army, with which they go here and there, killing and making prisoners all her majesty's faithful subjects upon whom they can lay hands; and, when they do not find them, they burn, pillage, and pull down their houses, and employ every act of cruel enmity against them; so that, after having in the first instance destroyed and levelled with the earth so many beautiful and rich buildings of churches and monasteries, they now, by destroying the castles and palaces of the nobility, will at last have ruined the whole kingdom, with so much injury and loss to the commonwealth as can with difficulty and length of time be repaired.

Such is the work of this bastard, who, by this his last action, has clearly shewn himself to have been always a participant in the conspiracy, since his pretended innocence, which he feigned before the eyes of the simple and ignorant people, alleging that what he did was in consequence of the aforesaid subscription, can no longer be maintained, seeing her majesty has publicly revoked it, as by right she could do, and along with it has revoked all which has followed in consequence of it. And as, since the said revocation, he has shewn every cruel and abominable contempt for this lady his queen, and for her authority, so all the fine colours and pretences of his hypocrisy and falsehood fail, proving to all that he is ungrateful, disloyal, and wicked; as are also guilty his accomplices and adherents who follow him, since, after having received so many benefits and honours from her majesty as have made them greater than all others of Scotland, they give in return treasons and cruelties, in having laid hands on the person of her majesty their sovereign, deprived her of the crown to which she succeeded by the ordinance of God, and by lawful succession; and, after having falsely imputed a crime to her, not giving her even room for justifying herself and declaring her rights, which would not be denied by Turks and barbarians to the vilest man on earth.

Her majesty believes that there can be no Christian sovereign of opinion that such things are permissable to subjects, and that there will be found few subjects who would approve of them, unless it be some one of the same nature as themselves,

and who have an understanding with those whom they endeavour to cloak and excuse, in order to be able with this example to do the like. With this consideration her majesty has gone to England, where she now is, expecting, for the reasons aforesaid, assistance and favour from this queen; but as yet she has no other prospect except of being deceived in this expectation, fearing that the said Queen of England may be dissuaded from giving her any assistance by some member of her council who favours these rebels. And, therefore, finding herself in such affliction, her majesty entreats all the Christian princes, by the love which they bear to our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom they hold their places and kingdoms, and by the reverence in which they have his holy Church, and lastly by the regard which they have to their own preservation and that of their posterity, to afford her some assistance in this her very grievous affliction; finding herself oppressed so cruelly by the disloyalty and treasons of such wicked and unjust subjects; so that this detestable and abominable deed may not rest unpunished, and pass into an example; on the contrary, that by this, other subjects may know that their revolting against their superiors is the common quarrel of all princes, by being a thing contrary to all good laws and good customs; otherwise, by the toleration of this daring presumption, there is no doubt that many will wish to imitate these people in this, as they have already done in other things, and that the insolence of the others will exceed if possible that of theirs.

FINIS.

LONDON:
RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

Letters of
MARY STUART

translated by
W. Turnbull

DATE DUE

NOV 2 4 1993	AUG 2 4 2005
NOV 2 2 1993	AUG 1 8 2008
JAN 2 8 1995	AUG 1 1 2008
SEP 0 6 2005	JUL 1 8 2009
	SEP 0 1 2009
JAN 2 8 1995	
APR 0 4 1995	
APR 0 4 1995	
SEP 0 1 2001	
AUG 0 9 2001	
JAN 0 3 2003	
DEC 1 6 2002	
MAR 0 9 2005	
APR 1 2 2005	
AUG 0 1 2008	